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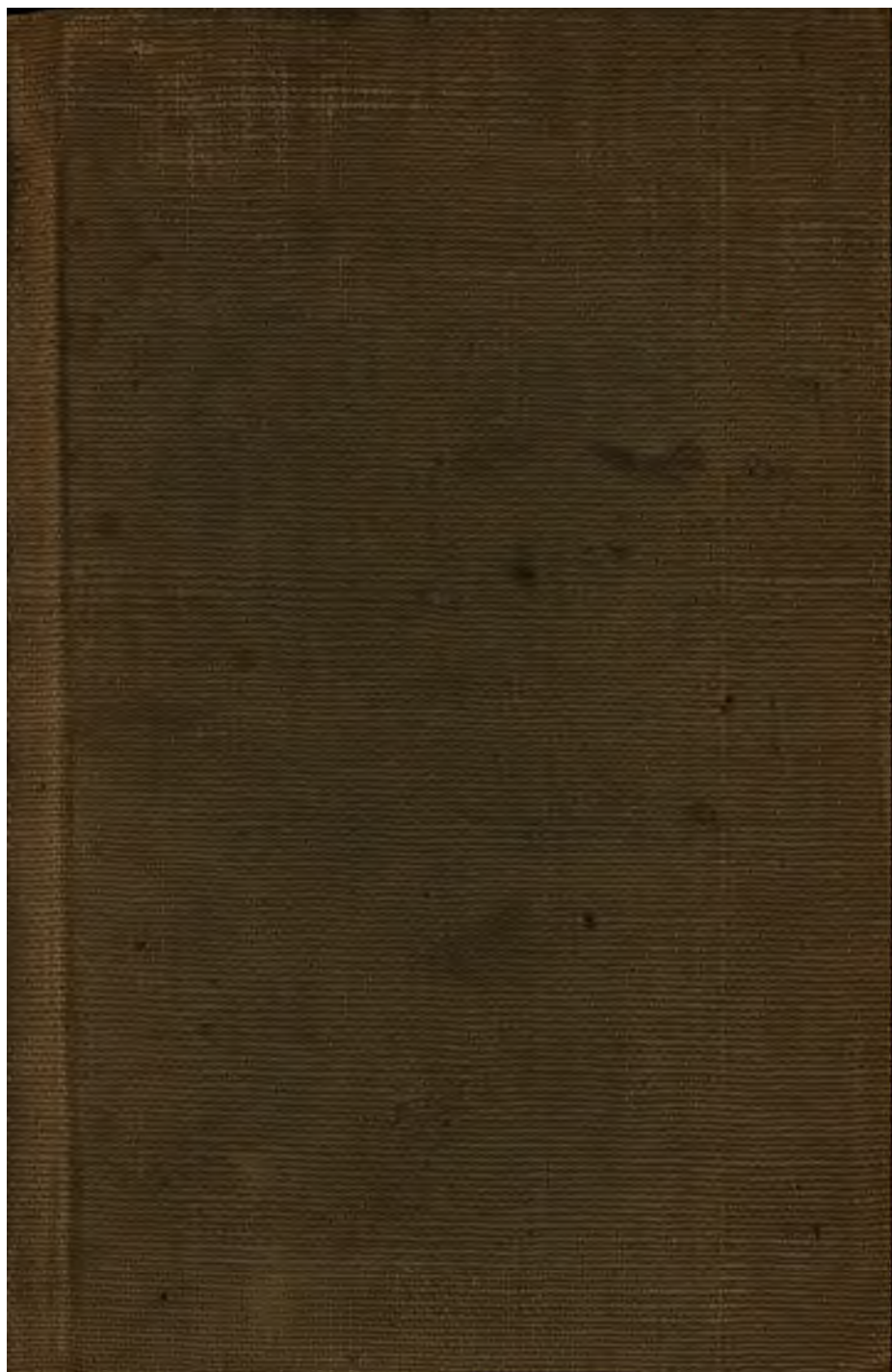
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HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY  
OF  
THE MIDDLE AGES.

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FOR

COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS.

(CHIEFLY FROM THE FRENCH.)

BY

GEORGE WASHINGTON GREENE,

AUTHOR OF 'LIFE OF GEN. GREENE,' 'HISTORICAL STUDIES,' ETC.

PART I.

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## P R E F A C E .

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THE following pages, as the title indicates, are chiefly taken from a popular French work which has passed rapidly through several editions, and received the sanction of the University. It will be found to contain a clear and satisfactory exposition of the revolutions of the Middle Ages, with such general views of literature, society and manners, as are required to explain the passage from ancient to modern history. At the head of each chapter there is an analytical summary, which will be found of great assistance in examination or in review. Instead of a single list of sovereigns, I have preferred giving full genealogical tables, which are much clearer and infinitely more satisfactory. A select bibliography of the Middle Ages, with the references for a full course of reading or study, will be found in the second part.

This little volume is the first of a series, in which I hope to do something towards the promotion of a taste for historical studies in our colleges and schools. There is no department in which text-books are more needed. The student needs them as a guide, the teacher as an outline, and the general reader, who has already gone over the ground in detail, as a reference, by which he can revive old studies and give unity to his conceptions, by a clear and comprehensive classification.

G. W. G.

BROWN UNIVERSITY, *September 19, 1850.*



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# HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

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## INTRODUCTION.

EXTENT OF THE HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE AGES.—ITS GREAT DIVISIONS.—ENUMERATION OF THE PRINCIPAL STATES FOUNDED DURING THIS PERIOD OF HISTORY, IN THEIR GEOGRAPHICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER.—THEIR RESPECTIVE IMPORTANCE IN THE HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

### I.

1. *Extent of the history of the Middle Ages.—Its great Divisions.*—The Middle Ages were long considered as an obscure and uninteresting epoch, the history of which could take only a secondary place in a course of study. But since the works of Thierry, Guizot, Michelet, Lingard, Hallam, Hurter, and Voigt, a new lustre has been cast upon this period, till then so imperfectly understood, which, revealing its true character, has shown how important a place it really holds in the world's history. Then appeared those phases in the progress of civilization, under the influence of Christianity, which are often so grand, and the true origin of modern society, the actual state of which can only be understood by

tracing it back to its birth, and following up its development through the middle ages.

Two great facts give the middle ages an aspect peculiarly their own : the first, is the introduction into the European world of that new element, the barbaric race, which at different periods modified without destroying the old races on which the Roman dominion had set its seal ; the second was the supreme and regulating action of the church, which produced a gradual and successive fusion of these two elements, and assembled them in a grand unity, harbinger of the political union of all nations in modern times.

The development of these two leading facts decides the beginning, the highest point, and the end of the epoch which is known by the general name of middle ages, a name which is admirably expressive of an epoch of transition and organization. Although historians generally begin the middle ages with the final division of the empire, it may, with truth, be said to have begun at the moment in which the invasion of the Barbarians, long confined to partial incursions, was changed to a sudden and general irruption (376—406). It continues through those centuries during which the Holy See, the centre of European policy, rallies all people around it, and forms that vast body which has been designated so justly by the name of Christendom. It ends at the moment in which the fall of Constantinople marks the final progress of the great Mussulman invasion (1453) at a moment in which a universal agitation in the minds of men announces that religious revolution of the sixteenth century which was to annihilate for ever the temporal power, the supreme arbitrage of the sovereign pontiff, and give a new base to modern policy.

This epoch may be divided into four great periods : 1st. From the final division of the empire to Charlemagne, the period of permanent invasion (395—800) ; 2d. From Charlemagne to Gregory VII., period of the second invasion and of

the feudal system (800—1073) ; 3d. From Gregory VII. to Boniface VIII., period of pontifical influence (1073—1294) ; 4th. From Boniface VIII. to the fall of Constantinople, period of the restoration of royal power (1294—1453).

## II.

2. FIRST PERIOD : *From the final division of the Empire to Charlemagne.—Character of this period.—I. (395—800).* The first period, which would begin more naturally with the entrance of the Goths into the empire (376) was prepared by that long series of local irruptions which had already greatly modified the population of the Roman provinces. This was the epoch of the great invasion of the Germanic races, which completed the transformation of the provinces by renewing their manners, government and laws. The impotence of the empire had no sooner been manifested by its final division, than all the frontiers were opened to the incursions of the Barbarians, who introduced unknown elements into the bosom of the Roman world. New states arise in Spain, in Gaul, in Africa and in Italy. The western empire falls at the shock. The Empire of the East alone remains and seems to have been spared. But while it vainly endeavors to resume the external supremacy which is slipping from its grasp, a new, and no less terrible invasion threatens it from the East. Mahometanism, issuing from Arabia, springs forward, sword in hand, conquers, overthrows by its invincible impetuosity whatever opposes it, and imposes upon the terrified nations its dogmas, its principles and its laws. It wrests all the provinces of Asia from the empire, and from Christianity the spot in which it had been cradled. Soon it advances toward the west, through the northern districts of Africa ; but this great effort is broken by the resistance of the Frank and



Germanic races, led by Charles Martel. The grandson of the conqueror of the Saracens, Charlemagne, soon after arrests the movements of the people of the north and the south by his triumph over the Saxons and the Huns. The Empire of the West, which the invasion had overthrown at the beginning of this period, rises again at its close, to mark the end of this general commotion of nations.

3. SECOND PERIOD: *From Charlemagne to Gregory VII.*—

II. After the Germanic invasion follows the Scandinavian or Norman invasion, which falling upon states scarcely organized, checks their first progress, and opens an epoch of decay and struggle, augmented by the destructive incursions of the Scythic or Hungarian races. In the heart of vast and powerful dominions a crowd of petty principalities arise and organize the defence; the royal power is no longer any thing more than that of a lord paramount: the reign of feudalism begins. In Germany alone, the royal authority resists for a long time, and appears still to maintain itself, when it seems annihilated among the other people of the west; but the victory of feudalism was the more complete and lasting for having been retarded so long.

The great Mussulman empire is a prey, like Christian Europe, to a general parcelling. The vast and strong unity which had rendered it so redoubtable, is for ever broken, and its divisions prepare the way for its decay.

4. THIRD PERIOD: *From Gregory VII. to Boniface VIII.*—

III. A deep-felt want of order and union is experienced in the midst of these crises and convulsions. There is but one regular, unchanging power in the world, the power of the popes; and Christendom takes refuge in the shade of this great and sovereign influence. The popes, called by the nature of events to reassemble and combine all the elements of the new society, unite political with religious supremacy. Kings appeal to them as arbiters; the people, as the defenders

of their rights and their dawning liberty. The temporal action of the Holy See is felt in the interior of Europe by that great work of protection and universal mediation ; without, by the crusades, which the first time unite the European states in the same thought and the same enterprise—the crusade, that great manifestation of religious enthusiasm, and of the ardent faith of the middle ages. In the political world their principal results were the strengthening of royal authority and the weakening of feudalism, by uniting the inhabitants of the same territory under the same standard, and thus restoring national unity, by re-establishing the bonds of subordination in the higher classes, and by favoring the development of the commons.

5. FOURTH PERIOD : *From Boniface VIII. to the taking of Constantinople.*—IV. When the royal authority began to grow strong again, and every nation to become more firmly and regularly organized, the temporal power slipped from the hands of the prince of the church : and politics were separated from religion, while royalty triumphed throughout Europe.

The decay of the Mussulman dominion continues in Spain ; but Mahometanism, reanimated by the energy of a new race from central Asia, regains in the East what it loses in the West ; the power of the Ottoman Turks overcomes, after a long struggle, the feeble Empire of the East. The conquest of Greece and taking of Constantinople, final results of the invasion of the Barbarians, complete the introduction into Europe of the elements of its modern organization.

### III.

6. *Principal States founded during these different periods their respective importance.*—The first invasion, by disme

bearing the Empire of the West, gives rise: in Western Europe, to the kingdom of the *Visigoths* (413), which after having absorbed that of the *Suevi* (585) is overthrown by the *Arabs* (711); to the kingdom of the *Franks* (481), which is to destroy that of the *Burgundians*, and continue from the epoch of the invasion to modern times; to the kingdom of the *Ostrogoths* (493), which flourishes in great splendor during a short period, and is replaced by that of the *Lombards* (570). In Africa is founded the kingdom of the *Vandals*, to be annihilated under Justinian (534), and finally, in the west of Europe, the *Anglo-Saxon heptarchy* (455—880) results from a second phase of the Germanic invasion. The supremacy belongs to the *Ostrogoths* under the great Theodosius, and slips from them to pass gradually to the *Franks*, who at the end of this period exercise an immense preponderance under Pepin and Charlemagne, to whom the Holy See owes the first origin of its temporal power. In Asia arose with prodigious rapidity the *Mussulman empire*, which, a century after its birth, contends at the same time against the Empire of the East in Asia Minor, and the Franks on the north of the Pyrenees, and supplanted for ever in Asia and in Africa the dominion of the emperors of Constantinople. But the division of the Caliphate presages the destruction of this colossal power, and favors in Spain the progress of the little kingdoms of the Asturias and Leon. In the north of Europe the kingdom of Poland is established (about 600) and begins to develop itself under the influence of Christianity.

The second period sees arise from the wrecks of the empire of Charlemagne, the kingdom of France proper, the German empire, the kingdom of Navarre, the kingdom of Italy, and the two kingdoms of Burgundy. The maritime republics of Genoa, Pisa, and Venice, acquire or maintain their independence. The Christian reaction in Spain gives rise to the kingdoms of Castille and Aragon. The Scandi-

navian invasion lays the foundation of the duchy of *Normandy* (885), which in 1066 extends its dominion over the *Anglo-Saxon* kingdom of England. In 1057 it lays the foundation of the *Norman* kingdom of Italy. The kingdom of Hungary was founded in the tenth century by Asiatic tribes. In the north and out of the sphere of the European movements were founded the kingdoms of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, and the grand-duchy of *Russia* (864). During the greater part of this period the preponderance belongs to the German empire.

During the *third period* the kingdom of *Portugal* was formed (1139) in the Spanish peninsula, at the expense of the Mussulman power, which is divided in the East, where it is shaken by the Crusades and by the terrible incursions of the *Moguls*, who extend their inroads into Europe, and overthrow the Slavonic states. The German empire and the Holy See contend energetically for the political supremacy, which in the end falls to Rome. The crusades develop rapidly the power of the maritime republics of Italy, and favor the formation and development of the *Hanseatic* league in Germany.

During the *last period* of the middle ages, no power succeeds to the universal ascendant of the Holy See. England, by her triumphs in her contests with France, acquires a preponderance in the West, which France, soon after victorious in turn, wrests from her. The German empire falls from the high rank which it had held ; but already the increase of the house of *Austria* foreshadows the part which it will soon be called upon to fill, although the formation of the *Hanseatic league* (1308) has diminished its territories and compromised its influence. In the East the Mussulman power gradually replaces that of the emperor of Constantinople, until at last this old dominion falls. In the North, the re-union of *Lithuania* and *Poland* (1386) secures to the lat-

ter a great preponderance, balanced, however, in the fourteenth century, by the *great confederation of Colmar*, which unites for several years Denmark, Sweden, and Norway (1389).

Northern and southern Europe, still isolated, will only be definitively drawn nearer together in modern times.

Our aim will be to give a correct idea of European society in the middle ages. This can only be done by showing, on the authority of the great works by which Germany has enriched this portion of historical science, the true character of that pontifical influence which is mingled with all the important facts of this period and controls so many of them ; and pointing out, amid the variety of events, the origin and progress of constitutions and government, which form for every people the truest expression of their manners and traditions.



## CHAPTER I.

### INVASION OF THE BARBARIANS.

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#### SUMMARY.

§ I. State of the Roman world, at the end of the fourth century.—General exhaustion in the provinces.—Decay of the Municipal System. Introduction of the Barbarians into the Empire.—Division and rivalry of the Empires of the East and West.

§ II. General character of the barbarian world at this epoch.—Three great families of Barbarians.—Scythian and Tartar races.—The Moguls, the Mantchoos, the Turks, the Avars, the Huns.—Manners of the *Hunnish* nations.—Manners of the Sclavonians milder than those of the Scythians.—Secondary roll of the Sclavonians in the great invasion.—Three great tribes in the family of the Sclavonians.—Of the Bulgarians and Alani.—Germanic family: Allemanni, Franks, Suevi, Burgundians, Angles, Saxons, Lombards, Vandals, Heruli.—Of the Gothic nations.—Customs of the Germans.—Manners, government, religion.

§ III. Double aspect of the invasion of the Barbarians.—Its two distinct phases.—State of the Empire after Theodosius.—Arcadius and Honorius.—Power of Stilicon.—Invasion of Alaric, king of the Visigoths, in Greece and Italy.—Invasion of Radogast.—Great invasion—Suevi, Vandals, Alans, Burgundians, Franks.—Constance, Emperor of Gaul.—Assassination of Stilicho.—Sack of Rome by Alaric.—The Visigoths in the south of Gaul under Adolphus, Alaric's successor.—Wallia in Spain.

§ IV. Successors of Honorius.—Valentinian III.—Quarrel of Boniface and Aetius.—The Vandals in Africa.—Genseric—Attila.—Battle

of Chalons.—Sack of Rome by Genseric.—Influence of the Suevian Ricimer.—Majorian.—Last emperors.—Orestes and Augustulus overthrown by Odoacer.—Fall of the Western empire.

### § I.

#### GENERAL IDEA OF THE DECLINE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

7. *Extent of the Empire.*—The world, at the close of the fourth century, presents a singular spectacle. You still see the vast empire of Augustus, of Constantine, of Theodosius, comprising the richest and most beautiful countries that border on the Mediterranean. The Rhine, the Danube, the Euxine and the Euphrates still separate, in appearance, the Roman world from the Barbarians. On the one hand, we see ancient civilization and the consecrated traditions of the imperial dominion; on the other, wandering tribes of savages and the unknown elements of a new society. But every thing shows that a work, which had been begun long before, was about to be consummated by a terrible crisis; that an universal destruction was about to blend, every where, all these different people, already mingled, in so many places, by local invasions; and that after the various phases of a long revolution, there would no longer be either Romans or Barbarians, but for the first time in the world's history, European states.

8. *Extent of the Roman world at the end of the Fourth Century; general exhaustion.*—Since Constantine, the empire had been sustained by a borrowed life and a factitious energy. The reforms which men of powerful genius had attempted, had acted upon it like those violent remedies which restore a transient vigor by exhausting all the springs of life. A single century had been sufficient to produce this fatal result, and notwithstanding the splendor of the reign of Theodosius, the empire was at the eve of its final ruin. The

apparent regularity of the administration, the skilful and complicated organization of public functions, could no longer conceal its real decay. The municipal system, destined to regenerate the provinces, was still struggling against its own impotence (*see Roman History*), crushing the population, and absorbing the fortunes of individuals, without sustaining the government or restoring public prosperity. The defenders of the cities (*defensores civitatis*) carried up fruitless complaints to the governors, or employed their influence to oppress their fellow-citizens. An universal sense of discouragement had seized upon men's minds at the sight of incurable evils, which this discouragement itself only served to render more sensible. The husbandmen abandoned their fields in order to escape taxation, and the soil which they no longer cultivated became a desert waste. The municipal officers abandoned their posts to fly from the responsibilities which they imposed: the counts and dukes opened their frontiers to the stranger, rather than engage in a hopeless contest; and the barriers which had so long held the Barbarians at bay, were thrown down, one after the other, by the Romans themselves. If a wandering tribe chanced to fall, sword in hand, upon some province, it had nothing to fear from its inhabitants. Italy, which had conquered the world, Gaul, which had once filled up the legions of Cæsar, could no longer furnish a single soldier: and the invaders could pass boldly on from province to province, until they were repulsed by some other tribe in the emperor's pay, or had established themselves permanently on the territories of the empire. But while the population was thus renewed, it was changed too in its character, and these new citizens, even while they accepted the forms of the imperial government, often awaited but the favorable moment of separating themselves from the centre, and resuming their nationality. The continuation of the invasion hastened the dissolution which was already prepared from within.

9. *Division and rivalry of the Empires of the East and West.*—In such a situation, the policy of the princes, from the death of Constantine, consisted in averting, with more or less skill, the danger of the moment, without being able to give even a thought to the future. The division of the empire had appeared to Theodosius, as well as to Constantine and to Diocletian, the only means of correcting internal evils and repelling external invasions, by an easier inspection of the remote provinces and a more direct action of the supreme authority. But to accomplish this would have required two emperors, animated with the same spirit, acting in concert against the common enemy, and preserving peace and subordination in their own territories.

This, however, was far from being the case. Instead of being friends, the two emperors were rivals: instead of sustaining each other, each strove to obtain the control over his colleague; laboring mutually to undermine and raise up enemies against the power on whose existence each depended for the preservation of his own. In this deplorable task they were both equally successful; and the result of their divisions was the general invasion, hastened by the policy of the Eastern Empire, and which was soon followed by the dismemberment and rapid fall of the Empire of the West.

## § II.

ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE BARBARIANS, BEFORE THE INVASION.

—SCYTHIANS AND TARTARS, SCLAVONIANS AND GERMANS.—

MANNERS OF THE BARBARIANS.

10. *General character of the Barbarians.*—On the borders of these desolate provinces, in those vast countries, once almost a desert, a young, ardent and impatient popula-

tion stands ready to throw itself upon its unresisting prey. With them all is life, energy, movement, both in private life and in the public mind ; and at the aspect of those nations pressing and crowding upon one another, contending for the possession of a soil from which their own restless activity drives them away almost as soon as it is won ; of this strength nourished by incessant struggle, and this ambition irritated by partial success, it is easy to foretell that all things are wonderfully combined for a great work of destruction.

·11. *Scythian and Tartar races ; their manners.*—Three powerful families of separate nations were again about to be mingled together, beyond the Roman frontier : the *Scythians*, the *Germans*, and the *Sclavonians*.<sup>(1)</sup> On the north of Persia and Arabia, the race which was known to the ancients as *Scythian*, and among which are classed the *Tartar* tribes, occupied the immense *steppes* of upper Asia and eastern Europe. There lived the *Kalmucks* or *Moguls*, the *Mantchoos*, the *Turks*, the *Avars*, the *Huns* or *Hiongnous*, the most terrible of them all. India was to become the spoil of the *Moguls*, China of the *Mantchoos*, Western Asia and a part of Europe of the *Turks* : the *Huns*, masters for a moment of all these tribes (v. Roman History, ch. xxiii.) but soon driven back by them in turn, were destined to overrun all Europe like a desolating torrent, and then disappear, ~~without~~ leaving scarcely a trace in the world which they had laid waste.

The *Huns* were the most savage of the barbarous tribes, and historians never speak of them without terror. Short and thick, disfigured by hideous scars, clad in skins coarsely stitched together, they lived upon roots and meat softened under their saddles, or the curdled milk of their mares. They led about numerous flocks wherever they went, and

(1) For the Ethnography of the Barbarians, see Part II. of this work ch. i. book 11, containing the Geography of the Middle Ages.



transported their booty in wagons, which formed a sort of rolling city. They slept in the open air, and passed their lives on horseback : it was on horseback that they ate, that they held council, that they made war, and leaning upon the necks of their steeds, caught an uncertain sleep, while dreaming of the morrow's battle. They charged their enemy with frightful cries, came upon him unawares, dispersed in an instant, returned again to the charge, throwing their javelins with unerring skill, and dragging their prisoners after them with a noose, that they were trained to throw with the same fatal precision with which the South American of our own days hurls his lasso.

The *Huns* worshipped the sun and a naked sword planted in the ground. They had neither laws nor religious dogmas. Their children, born in the wagons in which their women passed their lives, were formed early to the chase, and only acknowledged to be of age when they had killed an enemy with their own hands. Their prisoners were sacrificed to the shades of their ancestors ; the warriors collected the skulls of their enemies, and in battle tied them to the flanks of their horses.

12. *The Slavonians*.—The manners of the *Slavonians*, on the other hand, who occupied the whole of northern Europe from Germany to the Volga, were comparatively mild and gentle. They tilled the ground, fed large flocks, and hunted the abundant game which peopled their forests. Their families were remarkable for the union which prevailed in them ; stealing was unknown among them : the Slavonian, on quitting his dwelling, left the door open and a meal ready dressed for the traveller : strangers were received with honor, and the poor man could take from the rich whatever he needed for the entertainment of his guest. Their prisoners were generally treated with humanity, and allowed the privilege of ransom.

The Slavonians adored a great number of divinities, whose worship they celebrated by dances, public games and patriotic songs ; and in these solemn festivities mead and milk were served with profusion. It was only when under the influence of superstition that the Slavonians were cruel. Human blood was mingled with the blood of animals upon the altars of their gods : wives were sacrificed to the shades of their husbands, and the hatred of the priests of their idols was soon to prepare frightful tortures for the missionaries of Christianity. Bound by their sedentary habits to the soil of their birth, the greater portion of this race took no part in that great movement of people which ended with the fifth century. It was only after the invasion that they appeared in turn in the deserted provinces.

The Slavonians were divided into three great nations. The *Venedi*, near the Baltic ; the *Ants*, on the banks of the Don ; the *Slavonians* proper, near the Danube. At a later period they were divided into a great number of tribes. All of these people, subjected for a moment by the great king Hermanric to the dominion of the Goths, recovered their independence after the division and destruction of the empire of the Goths by the invasion of the Huns (v. Roman History).

The *Bulgarians* and *Alani*, though Slavonian by origin, resembled the Scythians in their wandering habits and savage character.

13. *Germanic races*.—On the west of Slavonia, between the Ocean, the Vistula, the Theiss and the Rhine, were those German tribes which had long been known to the Romans. The *Allemanni* and *Franks*, composed of the reunion of several smaller tribes, were scattered near the borders of the Rhine, on its left bank when victorious, on the right when vanquished, but still with their arms in hand, and ever ready to seize the opportunity of invading Gaul. In the centre were

two powerful people, the *Suevi* and the *Burgundians*; on the northeast, the *Saxons*; the *Angles* and the *Frisons* on the shores of the Baltic and opposite to the coast of Great Britain; in the north and in the east the *Lombards*, the most ferocious of all the Germanic tribes, the *Gepidi*, the *Vandals*, and the *Heruli*, already yielding before the pressure of the *Goths*, themselves of Germanic origin, and who occupied all the eastern portions of Germany and several Sclavonian provinces. At the end of the fourth century, the *Ostrogoths* (eastern Goths) had submitted to the transient dominion of the *Huns*, while the *Visigoths* (western Goths) had sought an asylum in the empire.

14. *Manners and customs of the Germans.*—The manners of the Germans have been admirably described by Tacitus, whose indignation at the corruption of his fellow-citizens led him, perhaps, to render a somewhat exaggerated homage to the purity of manners and the energy and simplicity of the institutions of the Barbarians. Passionate lovers of independence, the German tribe never confined itself within the limits of a province: beauty of situation, rich pasturage, decide their transient residence. The palace of the chief is a simple hut; a ditch is the rampart, with which they guard against their enemies. Their lives are divided between hunting and war; the cares of agriculture and their flocks are left to women and slaves, while they go to meet their enemy; it is sloth and cowardice, in their eyes, to win by sweat what can be won by blood. The severity of their manners guarded marriage with inviolable respect. Women brought no dowry; but on the wedding-day, they received a present of a pair of oxen, as a symbol of the labor to which they were destined, and a horse and arms, to remind them that it was their duty to inspire their children with courage and patriotism. The food of the Germans was, in general, simple and frugal; at their re-

pasts, they discussed public affairs, while their young men executed, near them, dangerous dances between lances and swords. No people ever observed the duties of hospitality more religiously ; the traveller was received with joy, fed by his host, who also served him as guide, and never let him go away without some gift.

With these primitive virtues, the Germans mingled the vices of a nature still coarse and savage. Families were divided by the fiercest hatred when the offended one had refused to accept the pecuniary reparation which, according to the custom of the country, had been offered by the offender. The solemn festivals, on which the chief collected his warriors around him, were wild revels, debased by disgusting intemperance, and ending, almost always, in bloody quarrels. In their moments of repose, they engaged with a species of fury in games of chance : often hazarding their whole fortune upon the turn of a die ; and when all was lost, their flocks, their horse, and their arms, they would stake their wives, their children, and even their own freedom ; and warriors, young and vigorous, would suffer themselves to be bound and sold like slaves, to pay a debt of honor.

15. *Political and religious institutions.*—The nation really comprised but two classes, freemen and slaves ; and the lot of the latter was much less rigorous, among the Germans, than among the Romans. Strictly speaking, there was no aristocracy, no hereditary nobility : the warriors who had distinguished themselves in battle, and grown rich with the spoils of the enemy, were surrounded by distinctions and honors. The freemen of their tribe gathered around them and chose them for their chiefs in war ; and sometimes the whole tribe intrusted them with the supreme command. But it was seldom that the monarchical form was permanently established among them. These personal privileges never became the legal prerogative of a family. The chiefs

were consulted upon ordinary affairs ; but great questions were always referred to the assembly of the whole nation, where the freemen came on horseback, armed, and each with an equal right in debate, and no other influence but that of eloquence and glory.

A priest presided over the assembly ; these fierce Germans acknowledged no supremacy but that of religion. Some old man opened the meeting, and the murmurs of the multitude, or the clashing of their arms, was the signal that his counsel had been rejected or received.

It was in these assemblies that peace or war was decided. If an expedition was resolved upon, all the freemen were mustered, and set out, under the guidance of the bravest. They shared the fatigues, the dangers, the good or bad fortune of their chief, and the joy of his feasts, and the spoils of the enemy after victory ; but if the chief fell in battle, it was dishonor for his companions to survive him. The arms of the Germans were a buckler and the *fræma*, a short, pointed lance, to fight close at hand or at a distance, and sometimes a battle-axe and club. The strength of the army was in the cavalry ; the foot-soldiers mingled with the horsemen, were taught to cling to the manes of their horses, follow them at full speed, and fight in their ranks. The women accompanied the army in general wars, dressed the wounds of the wounded, brought back the fugitives to the charge, and were more than once seen to poniard the cowardly with their own hands, and after a defeat throw themselves under the wheels of their wagons, rather than survive their husbands' disgrace.

The religion of the Germans was sombre and mysterious. They worshipped the divinity in the depths of forests. The sun, and fire, were the symbols which they venerated most ; they looked upon the earth (*Dertha*) as their mother, and offered bloody sacrifices in the isle of Rugen, the dread-

ed sanctuary of the goddess; every year, beautiful young girls were led to the bank of a sacred lake, and never seen again. The Germans believed in the immortality of the soul; and to the brave, who died in battle, were promised the infinite joys of the Walhalla, where warriors were to cut one another to pieces during the day, and at night sit down together, young and full of life, to the eternal banquet.

### § III.

#### INVASION OF THE BARBARIANS IN THE TWO EMPIRES.

16. *Double aspect of the invasion of the Barbarians.*—The invasion of the empire by all these tribes of Barbarians presents two distinct phases: one slow and successive, the other sudden and rapid; the first destined to perform the work of insensible disorganization, the second to overturn by a sudden blow. For more than a century, the tribes nearest to the empire had penetrated, one by one, into its territories; but subdued by civilization, they had been aggregated in a certain measure to the society around them, subjected to its influence even while they transformed its elements, and ended at last by substituting their own authority to that of the emperor, without making any great modification in a system to which they had gradually adapted their own. Thus under the dominion of the Goths, who were for a long time in immediate relations with the empire, the Roman traditions are preserved in Italy and Southern Gaul. But other tribes, beyond the contact of Roman civilization, brought, suddenly to the frontiers of the empire in the course of their wild expeditions, or by the reaction of distant revolutions, and eager only for destruction and pillage, come next, with a frightful shock, which threatens all the vestiges of ancient society with annihilation.

Against such enemies, who inundate all her provinces at the same moment, the weakened and divided empire cannot long sustain the unequal contest.

17. *Accession of Arcadius in the East and Honorius in the West.*—The inheritance of Theodosius, the last of the Roman emperors, was divided between his two sons (395). *Arcadius* had the East, comprising the two prefectures of the East and Illyria, that is, Egypt, the whole of Asia, Thrace, Moesia, Dacia, and all Greece. In the West, *Honorius* reigned over the two prefectures of Italy and Gaul, composed of Illyria proper, Pannonia, Norica, Rhetia, Italy, Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Great Britain. *Arcadius* resided at Constantinople, and *Honorius* at Milan, although Rome still preserved its title of Metropolis. The West was administered by the Vandal *Stilicho*, whom Theodosius had appointed guardian of the two brothers. The Gaul *Rufinus* governed the East for *Arcadius* (v. ch. v.).

18. *First invasion of Alaric.*—The military talents and exploits of *Stilicho* alarmed the low jealousy of *Rufinus*, who, to stir up enemies against his rival, called in the Barbarians to ravage the provinces. *Alaric*, chief of the Visigoths who were established in Dacia, hastened to obey the summons. He invaded and plundered Greece, but escaped with difficulty from *Stilicho*, who had come to the defence of the Peloponnesus. *Arcadius*, after having declared *Stilicho* enemy of the Eastern empire, made peace with the Goth, and gave him lands in Illyria, with the title of Master of the Troops (400). *Alaric* caused himself to be proclaimed king of the Visigoths, augmented his forces at the expense of the Eastern empire, which the blind *Arcadius* had placed at his disposal, equipped his soldiers with the arms of the arsenals of the East, and crossed the Alps to invade Italy. The peninsula, without regular armies, and incapable of defending itself, lay open to the invader, while *Stilicho* went to seek on the fron-

tiers, the troops which Italy could not supply. Frightful devastations marked the passage of the Goths, until Stilicho reappeared to deliver Honorius, who was besieged in Asti, and save the empire (402). Alaric, after three defeats and the loss of his army, returned into Illyria. Honorius celebrated the *total destruction of the Gothic nation* by magnificent games, in which gladiators appeared for the last time in the arena. A monk named Telemachus threw himself between the combatants, and tried to separate them. The spectators, intoxicated with the sight of blood, fell upon him and killed him. But the indignant emperor abolished the odious spectacle by a solemn decree, and the repentant people honored as a saint the martyr of humanity. Notwithstanding the excitement of his triumph, Honorius hastened to quit Milan and establish his residence at Ravenna, where the lagunes afforded a sure protection against sudden attack (403).

19. *General invasion.*—Alaric had given the signal to the Barbarians. Scarcely had he quit Italy, when the Suevi broke up from Germany and descended towards the Alps. For a second time the peninsula was a prey to the desolating scourge; but Stilicho was on the watch. By vigorous efforts he succeeded in creating an army, promising freedom and two pieces of gold to every slave that would take up arms (406). *Rhadogast*, chief of the Barbarians, was repulsed from the walls of Florence, to which he had laid siege, and surrounded and killed on the arid heights of Fiesoli; his horde was sold in the slave market.

Till then Italy alone had been attacked; but now all the West was upon the point of being assailed, at the very moment in which the death of Stilicho, assassinated by order of the cowardly Honorius, deprived the empire of its only protector. The Suevi, who had been exterminated with *Rhadogast*, were but the advanced guard of an innumerable army, composed of the remainder of the Suevi, of the Vandals, the



Alans, and the Burgundians. At the news of Rhadogast's disaster, they turned their steps towards Gaul, crushed in their passage the Ripuarian Franks, who had dared to meet the first shock (407), and spread like an inundation over all Gaul, leaving ruin and destruction behind them (v. History of France). The Burgundian tribes established themselves between the Rhone and the Saone; the others passed into Spain, which they ravaged even more fearfully than Gaul.

Shortly afterwards, the Franks, one of whose colonies on the Rhine had vainly tried to check the invasion, went to take their part also in the conquest of Gaul (v. ch. iv. § 1).

The centre of the country, which amid these revolutions still remained Roman, had not returned to Honorius.

20. *New invasion and death of Alaric.*—Constantine, chief of the legions of Britain, who had helped drain off the wave of invasion, was proclaimed emperor in Gaul, and charged the general *Gerontius* with the conquest of Spain. Honorius was compelled to recognize him, for Alaric had once more invaded Italy (409).

Stilicho's enemies had been promised that the auxiliary Goths should be massacred. Thirty thousand of them, who escaped from this bloody execution, took refuge with Alaric, who hastened into Italy to avenge them. *Some one is urging me on*, said the Barbarian, *and impelling me to sack Rome*. From the first siege Rome was redeemed by gold; after a second siege, Alaric invested the prefect Attalus with the purple, but deposed him again the moment that he began to act independently; and Honorius still refusing to fulfil the conditions which he had sworn to accept, siege was laid for the third time to the Eternal City, which was assaulted, taken, and sacked, with frightful devastation (410). The churches, however, were spared, and in these the population found a secure asylum; for the beneficent influence of Christianity began already to be felt. It had made its way among the Goths on

their first entrance into the empire, and having penetrated also to the greater part of the Barbarians before the great invasion, served on more than one occasion to soften the horrors of these disastrous times.

In all the Western Empire scarcely any thing was left to Honorius but the lagoons of Ravenna. However, Alaric did not survive his triumph long. He died at Cosenza, and his companions, to secure for his ashes an inviolable tomb, drained the waters of the river, and having buried him in its channel, slew the slaves by whom his grave had been dug, that no man might know where he lay.

21. *Foundation of the kingdom of the Visigoths in the south of Gaul and in Spain.*—His death (411) gave Honorius a breathing space, and by abandoning several provinces he was enabled to save a few. The Roman *Constantius*, who had replaced Stilicho, conquered Gerontius, who was at war with Constantine, and reduced him to such extremity that he killed himself; and finally made Constantine himself prisoner, and sent him to Honorius, who put him to death. The *Visigoths* ceased to be the enemies of the empire. *Adolphus*, Alaric's successor, had at first proposed to raise the empire of the Goths on the ruins of the empire of Rome; but he soon became convinced that his undisciplined subjects would never submit to regular laws, and changing his policy, he asked the hand of *Placidia*, Honorius's sister, became his brother-in-law's protector, and overthrew the two pretenders, Iovinius and Sebastianus, who with the protection of the Burgundians had assumed the purple in Gaul. Magnificent festivals had celebrated this alliance of the Romans and the Barbarians, and the Christians repeated joyfully the words of the prophet Daniel, "The daughter of the king of the South shall one day be united to the son of the king of the North."

As for the Barbarians established in the empire, as Hono

rius had no means of driving them away, he was compelled to recognize them. He confirmed the Burgundians, the mildest and most peaceable of the northern tribes, in the possession of Helvetia (413). To remove the Visigoths from Gaul, and oppose them to the Barbarians in Spain, he offered them settlements beyond the Pyrenees. Adolphus advanced as far as the Ebro, and was assassinated at Barcelona. His successor, *Wallia*, subjected the Alans, drove the Vandals who occupied Andalusia (*Vandalusia*) into the south, and the Suevi into Galicia, where they were not destined to preserve their independence long. In reward for his services, *Wallia* obtained from Honorius all the south of Gaul as far as the Garonne, and founded the kingdom of the Visigoths, with Toulouse for its capital.

Honorius retained the provinces which were not comprised in the three kingdoms of the Barbarians. He rewarded Constantius with the title of Augustus and the hand of his sister, the widow of Adolphus. But the dismemberment could no longer be prevented, and the tottering fragments which still bore the name of Empire of the East were about to crumble in their turn.

#### § IV.

##### DESTRUCTION OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

32. *Valentinian III.—Rivalry of Aetius and Boniface.—The Vandals in Africa.*—Honorius died in 424; *Valentinian III.*, son of Constantius and Placidia, succeeded him on the throne, after the usurpation of the secretary John, emperor of a day, who, however, signalized his reign by a memorable edict abolishing slavery. Placidia, once more a widow, reigned in her son's name, and another female, *Pulcheria*,

governed the East during the minority of her brother, Theodosius II. The two empires enjoyed a moment of repose ; but the mutual enmity of the generals of Placidia, *Aetius* and *Boniface*, cost the empire another province. Aetius, conqueror of the Frank Chlodian (428), of the Burgundians, and of the Visigoths, could not bear the ascendancy which Boniface had gained over the regent. The latter, deposed at the instigation of his rival, revolted in his province of Africa, and called the Vandals with their king *Genseric* to his assistance. His tardy repentance, awakened by the remonstrances of St. Augustin, did not come in time to repair his fault. The independent tribes of Africa and the Donatists, fanatics of the most obstinate caste, united with the enemies of the Roman power. Hippo, vainly defended against the attacks of the Vandals, opened its gates after a siege of fourteen months, in the third of which its illustrious bishop, the eloquent Augustin, had died. Boniface escaped over sea, and Valentinian was compelled to yield Genseric a part of Africa by treaty (435). Four years afterwards the Vandals surprised Carthage ; all Africa was lost to the Romans, and the city of Dido again became the capital of a kingdom. She soon too saw Rome at her feet, and decked herself with the spoils of her haughty rival. Genseric subjected all the great islands of the Mediterranean, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearic isles ; he rendered his capital as powerful as of old by her navy, and built a large number of ships, with which he cruised in every direction and plundered every coast ; "*urged on*," said he, "*against those whom God wishes to punish.*"

23. *Invasion of Attila, king of the Huns.*—A Barbarian equally redoubtable with Genseric held the northern provinces of the two empires in terror. *Attila*, who called himself *the hammer of the universe and the scourge of God*, had subjected to the empire of the Huns all the Slavonic tribes, and among the Germans the Heruli, the Marcomanni, the Gepidi, the Os-

trogoths, and the Suevi. The assassination of his brother had made him sole chief of his terrible nation. His sceptre was the sword *Demian*, which had been found by a shepherd in the midst of a desert, and the possession of which presaged the empire of the world. A message of Genseric decided him to attack the East. All the countries near the Danube were devastated with fire and sword. Theodosius II. bought peace at the price of an enormous tribute of two thousand pounds of gold; and his ambassadors, admitted to the table of Attila, but placed in the lowest seats, saw the haughty conqueror eat in wooden dishes, while his attendants were served in plates of gold and silver, the spoil of their enemies. Attila found a worthier adversary in Marcian, the successor of Theodosius; *I have gold for my friends, and steel for my enemies*, was his reply when the Barbarian demanded the payment of his tribute. The king of the Huns avoided the contest, and turned his steps towards the West, where he demanded the hand of Valentinian's sister, the princess Honoria, who had by a recent message invited Attila to claim her as his bride. Gaul was again laid waste. The prayers of St. Genevieve saved Paris; and the valor of Arianus, bishop of Orleans, held Attila in check before the walls of the city which he had doomed to destruction. Aetius came to the succor of the besieged at the moment in which they were upon the point of giving themselves up for lost, and his army, united with that of the Visigoths, the Franks, and the Burgundians, overtook the Huns near *Châlons sur Marne* (451). Theodoric II., king of the Visigoths, was killed in this horrible shock of Barbarian arms; but the victory fell to his allies. Attila, pursued to his intrenchments by the son of Theodoric, had already built himself a funeral pile with the saddles of his horses, and was prepared to kill himself upon it rather than fall into the hands of his enemies. But Aetius, fearing too great an increase of the power of the Visigoths, withheld

them from a final attack, and suffered Attila to regain the frontiers without being pursued <sup>(1)</sup>. Gaul was delivered; but the scourge fell upon Italy; Attila razed Aquileja, and ravaged all the north of the Peninsula; the inhabitants of Venetia took refuge in the lagoons of the Adriatic, where they laid the foundations of Venice; and the fierce conqueror was preparing to march upon Rome, when he was met by a solemn embassy of the Senate. The majestic aspect of Pope Leo the Great, who had come with the ambassadors, and who presented himself in the imposing array of his pontifical robes, with a rich ransom under title of the dowry of the Princess Honoria, and more than all, perhaps, the superstitious terror with which he reflected on the fate of Alaric, whose death had followed so close on the sack of the imperial city, moved the Barbarian's mind, and led him to grant peace to the trembling Romans. He abandoned Italy, and died the next year (453). The power of the Huns did not survive him long. The great empire of the Barbarians was torn in pieces by the children of its founder.

24. *Sack of Rome by Genseric.*—But Attila's rival, Genseric, was prepared to accomplish his work, at the moment when the empire lost its only defender. When Attila's sword was broken, Valentinian drawing his own for the first time, plunged it into the heart of the last of the Romans: jealous of Aetius, he killed the man who had so long retarded the fall of the empire. Next year Valentinian was put to death by the senator *Petronius Maximus*, who seized upon the throne, and the emperor's widow called in the Vandals to punish the assassin and the usurper (455). Rome was taken and sacked

(1) *Timens ne Hunnis funditus  
Interemptis, a Gothis Romanorum  
Premeretur imperium.—Jornandes.*

Such was the invariable policy of the empire during its decline.

a second time by the Barbarians. Genserio loaded his ships with the statues of the capitol, the fragments of the golden ceiling which had cost Domitian seventy millions, and the ornaments of the temple of Jerusalem which had adorned the triumph of Titus. A part of the inhabitants, with the empress Eudoxia and her two daughters, was led captive to Carthage.

25. *Influence of the Suevi Ricimer.*—The Barbarians continue to hold possession of the provinces, while their brethren press on them from without. Under this double pressure the death-struggle of the empire is protracted for a quarter of a century. After the death of Maximus, the rhetorician *Avitus* is proclaimed, and then assassinated by the Suevian *Ricimer*, whom he had put at the head of the Barbarian allies, and who assumed the right of disposing of the empire. *Majorian*, to whom he gave the purple (457), believed himself capable of exercising the imperial power, restoring the honor of the Roman name, and making it once more dreadful to her enemies. He restored some regularity to the administration, by reorganizing the collection of the revenues, by liberating the municipal magistrates from their burthensome responsibility, and re-establishing the ancient and useful office of *defenders of the city*. He had already equipped a fleet, too, and was prepared to carry war to the heart of the empire of the Vandals. But Ricimer, dreading the loss of his own authority, excited a conspiracy against the virtuous emperor, and treacherously defeated his generous plans. Three obscure emperors, *Severus III.*, *Anthemius*, and *Olybius* (461—472), rise and fall at the voice of the Barbarian.

26. *Last emperors.—Fall of the Western Empire.*—At length, after the death of Ricimer (472), the patrician *Orestes*, successor of *Glycerius* and *Julius Nepos*, invests with the purple his son *Romulus Augustulus*, as if to close the imperial line with a name which should recall at the same time the

founder of Rome and the founder of the empire (476). Orestes is so imprudent as to excite the discontent of the Barbarian allies, by refusing the distribution of lands which they demanded. They revolt, with the Herulian *Odoacer*, who had already been raised to the first grades of the army; Orestes is massacred, and his son banished. From that time Rome had no more emperors.

The Western Empire, so long undermined, fell without a shock. Italy was governed by a king, instead of an emperor. The Barbarians assumed the insignia of a power of which they had long possessed the reality. Odoacer was the first that reigned in Italy, and the emperor of the East, to preserve at least a nominal supremacy, gave him the title of patrician (476).



## CHAPTER II.

### GOTHS AND LOMBARDS.

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#### SUMMARY.

§ I. Theodoric overthrows Odoacer.—His conquests and military triumphs.—He governs the Visigoths.—*His skilful administration.—Religious and political toleration.—Favors granted to the conquered.—Respect for all the Roman customs.—His efforts to unite the two people.—Distinctions which he makes between them.*—Protection granted to letters, arts, and agriculture.—Cassiodorus, a minister worthy of Theodoric.—End of the reign of this prince.—His cruelties and death.—Amalasontha and Athalaric.—Theodatus assassinates Amalasontha.—*Belisarius in Italy.*—Totila.—Fruitless efforts of Belisarius deprived of support.—Narses in Italy.—Destruction of the empire of the Ostrogoths.

§ II. Progress of the Visigoths in the south of Gaul and in Spain.—Wallia.—Theodoric II.—Euric.—Alaric II. killed by Clovis.—The Visigoths confined to Spain.—Contest between the Franks and Visigoths.—Justinian retakes a part of Spain.—Success of the Visigoths against the Sævi under Leovegild.—Their conversion to Catholicism.—The Greeks driven from the Peninsula.—Suintila king of all Spain.—Decay of the kingdom of the Visigoths.—Excessive power of the clergy.—Internal dissensions.—Attacks of the Saracens.—Battle of Xeres.—Fall of the Gothic monarchy.

§ III. Causes of the rapid fall of the kingdoms founded by the Goths.—Religious and political obstacles to the fusion of the conquerors and conquered in one nation.—Causes of the instability of the government.

§ IV. The Lombards called into Italy by Narses.—Alboin.—Troubles at his death.—Reigns of Antharis, of Agilulphus and Theodelinda, and of Rotharis.—New internal dissensions.—Luitprand.—Final progress of the Lombard power.—Contest with the Franks.—Fall of the kingdom of the Lombards.

## § I.

### HISTORY OF THE OSTROGOTHS IN ITALY.—THEODORIC.—CASIODORUS.

27. *Conquest of Italy by Theodoric.*—It was easier to conquer Italy than to keep it. The Herulian had hardly begun to confirm his dominion, by allying himself with the Visigoths and the Vandals, when he saw a terrible competitor rise against him. The Ostrogoths, shut up in a corner of Illyria, and wearied with an unwonted idleness, were beginning to grow restless, and waited nothing but a leader to rush on to war and plunder. The emperor Zeno sent them a son of their king Theodosius, whom he had brought up at Constantinople, adopted as his son by the adoption of arms, and raised to the first dignities of the empire. To him he delegated his rights over Italy, which he charged him to wrest from the hands of the Heruli; hoping that while he conquered his enemy with the arms of the young warrior, the Barbarians would mutually waste their strength in wars against each other.

*Theodoric* set forth, clad in the sacred veil, the emblem of his investiture, proclaiming himself the servant, the *slave* of Zeno (Jornandes). These vain demonstrations concealed the designs of a vast and audacious ambition. The chief of a powerful nation of Barbarians could not long remain the docile instrument of the feeble emperor of the East. The whole nation of the Ostrogoths marched under his orders.

They crossed the Julian Alps rapidly (489), defeated Odoacer three times, and compelled him to take refuge behind the walls of Ravenna. After a siege of two years, the Goths and the Heruli, equally tired of the war, signed a treaty which left Odoacer half the command. Theodoric stabbed him in the midst of a banquet, and reigned alone (493).

28. *Development of the power of Theodoric.*—Brave as a Barbarian chief, skilful as a disciple of the Greeks, Theodoric had all the qualities which make a great king: military talents to conquer, political talents to organize his conquests. Having subdued Italy, he fortified all the avenues to it: Illyria, Rhetia, Pannonia, Noricum, were occupied, in order to close all the passages on the north. The remnants of the Heruli were confined to the foot of the mountains, to serve as ramparts for the peninsula, and held in dependence by several Gothic chiefs, who were encamped on the chain of the Alps. The coasts of the Adriatic, infested by Greek pirates, were protected by a fleet of a thousand light ships, a navy created by Theodoric himself. Dreaded by the emperor of the East, whom he still continued to treat with politic respect, and by the nations of the West, whose invasions he checked, he proclaimed himself the protector of all the people of his race. Though too late to save his son-in-law Alaric II., king of the Visigoths (v. Hist. of France), he defeated the victorious army of Clovis, established his authority in the south of Gaul, and declared himself the guardian of Amalaric, Alaric's successor (511). He took the direction of the government of Spain, as he had done that of Italy; appointed the magistrates, directed the administration, regulated the affairs of the state, and became the sovereign of all the Gothic tribes; while the chiefs of the Vandals, the Burgundians, and the Thuringians sought alliance with his family or courted his friendship.

29. *Skilful administration.*—*Policy towards the vanquish-*

ed.—He proved himself worthy of his extensive power, by the wisdom of his administration in Italy. The world saw with admiration a Barbarian and a conqueror occupied only in effacing the traces of invasion, and securing the concord, the prosperity, and the civilization of his states. Though an Arian, he respected the privileges of the clergy, protected the catholic religion, which was professed by the Romans, and permitted the celebration of its solemnities. “We have no empire,” said he, “over religion; for no man can compel belief.” As tolerant in politics as in religion, he placed the conquered, in appearance at least, on an equality with their conquerors. His whole aim seemed to be to make one nation of them; wishing that “the Goths might love the Romans as neighbors and brothers, and the Romans cherish the Goths as their protectors.” While in other countries the conquerors preserved a privileged legislation, in Italy the law was the same for the Goths and the Romans, and that law was the Roman law slightly modified. Taxation fell equally upon both. The old system of administration was preserved with scarcely a change. The senate was held in honor; civil magistracies and dignities resumed their places, and were mostly intrusted to Romans. Theodoric’s secretary and minister was the Italian *Cassiodorus*, whose talents Odoacer had already discovered and employed, and who, by his learning, his activity, and his wisdom, seconded the genius of his new master worthily, and established his claim to a share in the glory of this illustrious reign.

Theodoric’s court became wholly Roman; he adopted the imperial ornaments; and when the Romans saw him enter Rome with the pomp of a Roman triumph, and renew the distributions of the Forum and the games of the Circus, they forgot that they were slaves.

Theodoric, to reward his soldiers, made a distribution of lands; but of the lands which Odoacer had already taken

from their owners. At the same time he denounced severe punishment against the Goth that should dare to usurp the inheritance of his neighbor, or carry off his harvest or his flocks. A severe police maintained harmony between the old inhabitants and their new guests.

30. *Protection of literature and the arts.—End of Theodoric's reign.*—With all these concessions to secure the affection, as well as the obedience, of the vanquished, the policy of the Barbarian still left a deeply rooted distinction between the two people, although it was veiled skilfully. The Goth alone had a right to wear arms: he was trained in military exercises in the gymnasiums: letters and arts were not made for this warlike race, which perhaps they would only have enervated. The Roman was not allowed to carry arms; but the schools, the academies, and the libraries, which were shut to the Goth, were open to him; and Theodoric favored with all his power the development of these peaceful arts, which shed their splendor over his reign, while they assured the tranquillity of his dominion. Ancient monuments were repaired with zeal, if not with taste. The Goths themselves tried their hands at architecture, and Theodoric had a magnificent palace built at Verona. Cassiodorus, a new Mecenas, calls to court all the men eminent for their learning: *Symmachus* and *Eunodius*, *Jornandes* the historian, and the philosopher *Boethius*, so eminent for his piety and elevation of mind, who preserved the sound traditions of ancient literature, while he opposed vigorously every doctrine inconsistent with purity of faith.

At the same time industry and agriculture received a new development. The Pontine marshes and the marshes of Spoleto were drained, and Italy for the first time began to live by her own products. Commerce alone was neglected, as was but too natural for a nation long accustomed to have no relations with its neighbors but those of war and pillage.

Unfortunately, the end of Theodoric's reign did not correspond to its brilliant maturity, and seemed to foreshadow the close of this happy period. Wearied perhaps with the cares of government, irritated at not finding in others the same religious tolerance which he had professed and practised, and anxious too about the fate of the empire which he had built up so laboriously, he became suspicious and cruel. He threw into irons pope John, who had refused to intercede for the Arians, persecuted by the emperor of the East, and punished a doubtful conspiracy by putting to death Boethius, and Symmachus, his father-in-law, in frightful tortures. Soon after, pursued, it was said, by the bloody shades of his victims, he died a prey to remorse (526).

31. *Theodoric's successors.—Exploits of Belisarius.*—After Theodoric, the two Gothic kingdoms were again divided, and that of the Ostrogoths soon fell to decay. It was in vain that *Amalasontha*, worthy daughter of so illustrious a father, governed wisely and firmly during the minority of her son *Athalaric*; and vainly did Cassiodorus unite his efforts with those of the queen, to preserve Theodoric's work entire. The independent spirit of the Goths was irritated by that Roman organization which Theodoric alone had the strength to impose upon them; and they claimed the right of educating Athalaric in the customs of his ancestors. The young prince soon perished, a victim of debauchery. *Amalasontha*, hoping to preserve her power, after his death married her cousin *Theodatus* (534), whose love of literary retirement seemed to afford a sufficient assurance that he would leave her, as he had promised, in the full possession of her authority. This wretch had her assassinated, but did not enjoy the fruits of his crime long. *Justinian*, emperor of the East, seized this occasion to snatch Italy and Rome from the Barbarians, and declared himself the avenger of the daughter of Theodoric. His general, the famous *Belisarius*,

had only to show himself in order to get possession of Sicily and a great part of Italy. But *Vatiges*, who had been chosen to fill the place of Theodatus (536), whose cowardice and treachery had received their just reward, made a more serious resistance. He retook Milan, where three hundred thousand men were massacred, and laid siege to Rome, which Belisarius had just taken. The city, though defended by scarcely five thousand men, was saved by prodigies of skill and valor, during a siege of fourteen months. From that time Belisarius regained the ascendant. The Franks, who at the call of both parties, had come to make war on both alike, were driven back by famine; and Vitiges was soon after made prisoner at Ravenna, and carried to Constantinople to adorn the triumph of his conqueror (540).

32. *Destruction of the empire of the Ostrogoths.*—No sooner had Belisarius been recalled than the Goths raised their heads again under *Ildebold*, who reconquered northern Italy, and *Totila* (541), who defeated the Greeks at Faenza, and made himself master of the whole peninsula. The hero of the empire was sent to Italy a second time, but without the means which such an undertaking required, and which the jealousy of the court withheld. He saw Totila take Rome, without being able to do any thing for its defence, and only succeeded in preserving it from total destruction, by an eloquent appeal to the generosity or the prudence of the Barbarian. "The founders of cities immortalize their names," wrote he to Totila; "their destroyers dishonor themselves for ever. If you conquer me, you will have preserved the richest ornament of your states: if fortune should turn against you, the preservation of Rome will plead your cause: the choice rests with you." Totila spared Rome, which Belisarius was soon after able to enter by surprise (546). But without resources, and indignant at the helpless state to which he was reduced, he asked to be recalled. The command was

given to the eunuch *Narses*, who landed in Italy with a large army of Barbarians in the pay of the empire. Totila was killed at the battle of Lentagio, which decided the war and the fate of Italy (552). The struggle continued still a year under *Teias* and *Aligern*, supported by the hope of succor from the Franks. But a final defeat (553) compelled the remnant of the Goths to abandon Italy, which became again a province of the empire.

The Franks, who came too late to assist the Goths, even if they had been disposed to do so, perished by the plague or by the arms of Narses, after having ravaged the peninsula (554).

## § II.

### HISTORY OF THE VISIGOTHS IN FRANCE AND SPAIN.

33. *Progress of the Visigoths in the south of France and in Spain.*—While the empire of the Ostrogoths was crumbling in Italy, that of the Visigoths in Spain had reached the summit of its grandeur; from which, however, it was soon to decline. Originally established in the north of Spain and south of Gaul by Wallia, under the reign of Honorius, it had not remained long confined to its first limits. After the glorious death of Theodoric I. at the battle of Châlons, his son *Thorismund* (451–452) had made himself master of a great portion of the western coast of Gaul. Under *Theodoric II.* (452–467) the Visigoths took Narbonne, and engaged in a contest with the Suevi beyond the Pyrenees. *Euric* (467–484), who was the first that gave written laws to his people, took possession of all Roman Spain, leaving the Suevi nothing but a corner of Gallicia. At the same time he enlarged his frontiers towards the centre of Gaul. Two t



ties with Julius Nepos and with Odoacer secured him Auvergne and Provence. At the moment when the Western Empire fell, the dominion of Euric reached as far as the banks of the Loire. Alaric II. (484-507) continued Euric's work of civilization, and published a collection of laws extracted from those of Rome, and known by the title of *Breviarium Alaricarum*: but with his death, the prosperity of his kingdom ceased. The defeat of Vouglé (v. Hist. of France), which cost him his life, cut off Aquitania from the kingdom of the Visigoths, who had nothing left in Gaul but the province of Septimania.

34. *Wars with the Franks and Greeks.—Subjection of all Spain.*—The dominion of the Visigoths was re-established in the south of France, when the two Gothic kingdoms were united under the supremacy of the great Theodoric; but the Franks, whose pride he had humbled, passed the Pyrenees in turn, under the reign of *Amalaric* (526-531), to punish this Arian king for his ill treatment of his Catholic wife. After *Amalaric* (551), their decline began: royalty became elective, and proved a source of disorder and civil war. Three princes perished in succession by a violent death. The Franks profited by these troubles to plunder the northern provinces of Spain, and the Visigoths were reduced to submit to receive the succor which Justinian offered to one of the competitors for the throne of Spain, in order to open for himself an occasion for intermeddling in the affairs of this country. All the eastern and southern portions fell into the hands of the Greeks, after a bloody contest, vainly kept up by king *Athanagild* (554-568). But those distant possessions could not long remain subject to the feeble sceptre of the emperor. *Leovigild* (569-586), victorious over his rivals, took Cordova from the Greeks, and compelled the Suevi, by the great battle of *Braga*, to accept his laws (585): nearly all Spain was reduced under one dominion.

The Visigoths, like the greater part of the Barbarians, had till then been heretics: *Reccared* (566-401), son of *Leovigild*, was converted to Catholicism, had Arianism condemned in the council of Toledo, and thus won for himself the title of Catholic. This prince had recommenced the contests with the Franks; his successor turned his arms against the Greeks, whom he followed up nearly and confined within constantly decreasing limits in the eastern coast. At length, taking advantage of the wars which kept the armies of Heraclius occupied in the east, *Suintila* (491-471) drove the Greeks from the Peninsula, and became the first king of the whole of Spain.

35. *Internal divisions.*—*Fall of the kingdom of the Visigoths.*—The kingdom of the Visigoths continued in spite of itself for the greater part of another century in the midst of internal dissensions. The powerful men of the nation contended together for the crown, and each new election renewed the disorders. The clergy, the only body that was stable and powerful of itself, gained an immense ascendancy and overtopped the royal power. Exclusive party against the Jews and heretics showed that their zeal was more ardent than enlightened, and served to increase the weakness of the state. At the same time Spain was menaced by a new danger. The Arabs (c. 630), masters of northern Africa, pushed on their reconquerable incursions towards Europe. The fleet of king *Egica* disperses them since 634, a brilliant victory. *Marrakech*, which had been conquered by King *Sinbad* in the beginning of the century, is reconquered by the Arabs. The dissensions of the nobles and the intrigues of the kingdom; and even when Count *Jordan*, defending the rights of the grandson of *Egica* against the usurper *Euderic*, calls the Musulmans to his aid, and at the battle of *Xeres* overthrows the throne of *Euderic* and the kingdom of the Visigoths (711).

## § III.

CAUSES OF THE RAPID FALL OF THE KINGDOMS FOUNDED BY  
THE GOTHS.

36. *Obstacles to the fusion of the Roman and Gothic races.*—*Difference of religion.*—At the side of the kingdom of the Franks had arisen two states, founded by a people both more powerful and more numerous than they ; one of them more brilliant, the other possessing a richer and more extensive territory. Still the kingdom of the Franks has continued uninterruptedly to our own times, while the kingdoms of the Goths were destroyed within less than three centuries after their birth. The other states founded by the Barbarians at the same epoch had already disappeared, or were soon to disappear. How shall we explain this difference in their destiny ? The kingdom of the Franks had received from its foundation a guarantee for its duration and stability which was wanting in all the others.

The number of the Barbarians established in the countries which they had invaded was necessarily small, in comparison with that of the old inhabitants. To render their dominion solid, it was necessary either to subject or to incorporate the conquered ; and the latter was in most cases the only thing that they could do. It was towards this that the most enlightened of the Barbarian kings directed their efforts, by intermingling the conquerors and the conquered, multiplying the relations between them, and uniting their interests. But although habits, manners, and laws may be assimilated, there is a distinction which nothing but time can efface, and this is, difference of religion. Now the Franks who became Catholics shortly after their establishment in Gaul, were united to the Gallo-Romans by the strongest of all ties. The

Goths, heretics on their entrance into the empire, were separated by an insurmountable barrier from the Italians and the Spaniards whom they had subdued.

It is thus that we must explain the failure of the efforts of the great Theodoric himself.

This prince had tried, by combining two opposite systems, to fuse the two nations, while he preserved the preponderance for the Ostrogoths. But his unbounded tolerance could never do what the conversion of Clovis did. When the Frank king was baptized by the hand of a Catholic prelate, he won for his rising kingdom the support of the clergy, already so powerful in Gaul. It was the bishops, wearied with the dominion of the Arian Visigoths, who confirmed the power of the Franks to the south of the Loire. In Italy the bishops might become attached for a moment to Theodoric's person; but they never devoted themselves to the interests of an heretical dynasty and empire. The Catholic Roman would have looked upon any alliance with an Arian Goth as a profanation. This difference of religion rendered marriages impossible; and the intermixture of families is the only thing which can produce an intermixture of people.

37. *Political distinctions established by Theodoric.*—The desire of maintaining the supremacy of the Gothic race, contributed also to render all the measures which Theodoric took to establish unity in his states ineffectual. The separation of the youth, brought up in different gymnasiums for a kind of life wholly different; the humiliating distinction which deprived a people, once masters of the world, of the right of wearing arms; the compulsory removal of the Goths from those pacific occupations which alone could have softened their manners, were so many distinctions which constantly recalled to the one, that they held in their hands the rights of victory, to the others, that they were bound by the law of the strongest. And the conquered was that Roman people,

always full of the recollections of its ancient grandeur, and whose national pride, surviving its power, avenged its degradation by despising its rulers. The astonishing character of Theodoric made up for a while for the defects of his institutions, and in the beginning his policy seemed to calm national antipathy; but at his death the two races remained face to face, strangers and enemies as before.

The uncertainty of the order of succession to the throne, the independent habits of the Barbarian warriors, and the disorders which these causes produced in the state, increased the instability of the Gothic monarchies. In Spain, the conversion of the conquerors to the Catholic faith came too late to repair the evils of the past; for when the decay began, it was no longer time to attempt a general reorganization and to create a new nation.

It was not, however, from this Spanish race, ever impatient of the yoke, that the power of the Goths could look for support: neither could they look for it from without. While the Franks, few at first, but on the borders of Germany, still drew new recruits from the countries yet occupied by their brothers, the Ostrogoths and the Visigoths, separated by a vast distance from the regions which they had originally inhabited, were isolated for ever upon a soil in which they could not take root. Sooner or later they could not but sink under the attacks of strangers.

#### § IV.

##### HISTORY OF THE LOMBARDS IN ITALY TO THE CONQUEST OF THE KINGDOM OF THE LOMBARDS BY CHARLEMAGNE.

38. *Invasion of Italy by the Lombards.—Alboin.*—The dominion of the Eastern Empire in Italy was not long to replace

that of the Ostrogoths. Narses, after having subjected all the peninsula, had governed it fifteen years under the title of exarch : but his exactions rendered him odious to the Romans. At the complaint of the senators, he was recalled by the Emperor Justin, and insulted in his disgrace by the Empréss Sophia. To revenge himself, he called, it is said, the Lombards into Italy (568).

This barbarous nation, dreaded throughout Germany for its ferocity, descended from the banks of the Elbe and the Oder. Its chief, the brave and savage *Alboin*, ally of the *Avars*, had subdued the Gepidi after having killed their king with his own hand, and married the beautiful *Rosamund*, his enemy's daughter, who had been found among the prisoners. The *Avars* received for their portion Pannonia, which had been taken from the Gepidi : the Lombards set forth with their booty, with the understanding that if they should fail in their expedition, they were to receive back again the territory which they had surrendered to their allies. In a solemn banquet, *Alboin* served up to the principal chiefs the choicest fruits of the peninsula. All wished to hasten to the conquest of a country where such delicious productions were found ; and the whole Lombard nation, men, women, and children, accompanied by twenty thousand Saxons, descended into the plains of Italy. A general terror seized on all who saw these warriors, clad in the skins of wild beasts, who fought without giving quarter, and made drinking-cups out of the skulls of their enemies. Wherever they came, men fled before them. The lagoons of Venice received new inhabitants, and the principal cities, no longer defended by Narses, were compelled to open their gates to the Lombards, who uniting at Milan, proclaimed their chief king of Italy (568). Still Pavia held out, and when *Alboin* had at length taken it, after a siege of three years, he made it his capital, and founded the kingdom of the Lombards. The conquered

territory was divided into duchies, which were granted to the principal chiefs. Ravenna, with the surrounding territory, remained subject to the Greeks under the name of exarchate, and continued for two hundred years longer to preserve itself independent of the Lombards.

The new monarchy was shaken by the bloody death of Alboin, victim of the vengeance of his own wife, whom he had forced, in the intoxication of a banquet, to drink out of her father's skull. After the death of *Cleph* (574-575), Alboin's successor, who was assassinated after a reign of eighteen months, the Lombard dukes divided the power between themselves, and agitated Italy by their dissensions for ten years.

39. *Development of the power of the Lombards.—Autharis.—Agilulphus.—Rotharis.*—Wearied at last with disorder and anarchy, and alarmed by the alliance of Maurice, emperor of the East, with Childeric II., king of Austrasia, they gave up the sceptre to *Autharis*, son of *Cleph*, granting him at the same time half of their own domains for his support (585). Then began the brilliant period of the Lombards. *Autharis* leads his victorious army to the extremities of Italy, and spurring his horse into the waves, cries, "These are the limits of the empire of the Lombards." His widow, the virtuous *Theodalinda*, gives her hand, after his death, to duke *Agilulphus*, whom the Lombards hasten to place upon the throne (590-615). The queen, uniting her efforts with those of pope St. Gregory, softens their manners by propagating the Catholic religion among them, while *Agilulphus* defends his throne victoriously against the rebel dukes, and against the Greeks, united with the Avars and the Franks for the destruction of Lombardy. Soon after (536-652), *Rotharis* gives his subjects a regular code of laws, solemnly approved by the nation in the diet of Pavia, and which were framed to preserve public tranquillity, individual liberty, and the rights

of property. At the same time he crushes the Greeks, whose attacks are suspended for nearly a century.

40. *Dissensions.—Last conquests.—Destruction of the Lombard monarchy.*—But internal dissensions are preparing the fall of the kingdom. The respect of the nation for the family of the great queen Theodalinda, cannot outweigh their attachment to the principle of election, sustained by the ambition of the leading men. King *Pertharite*, grand-nephew of Theodalinda, driven away by *Grimoald* (662–671), duke of Beneventum, regains the crown after his rival's death, and after his own, his descendants dethrone and slaughter one another. Lombardy recovered for a moment her grandeur and prosperity, when she called the Bavarian *Luitprand* to the throne (741). Reformer of the Lombard laws, ally of Charles Martel, conqueror of the Saracens in Provence, and of the greater part of the exarchate, Luitprand made himself redoubtable to all Italy. Rome, which an insurrection against the iconoclast officers of Leo the Isaurian (v. ch. v.) had freed from the supremacy of the empire, could scarcely defend her newly won independence against the valiant king of the Lombards, who knew how to take advantage of the indignation excited by the edicts of her heretic prince, to extend his own dominions. Lombardy attained the limits of its territorial development under *Astolphus*, who took possession of Ravenna definitively, and put an end to the exarchate (752). But his designs against Rome were thwarted by the king of the Franks, Pepin le Bref, who came to the defence of the pontiff, by whom his arms had been consecrated, and defeated Astolphus in both his descents into Italy. Astolphus, compelled to accept peace, died shortly after, leaving to his successor Desiderius a throne already tottering, and which was soon to fall under the invincible arms of Charlemagne (774).

Several maritime cities, Venice, Naples, Amalfi, &c.,



bound to the Greek empire by a dependence purely nominal, began to form republics, which an active commerce soon rendered flourishing.

## CHAPTER III.

### ANGLO-SAXONS.

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#### SUMMARY.

§ I. Britain abandoned by Honorius.—Internal troubles.—Invasion of the Caledonians; the Britons call in the Saxons.—The Saxons establish themselves in Britain.—Contest with the Britons; foundation of the four Saxon kingdoms.—Invasions of the Angles, who found three kingdoms in Britain.—Heptarchy.—Oppression of the conquered.—Preaching of St. Augustine.—Divisions between the states of the heptarchy; they are subjected to Egbert the Great, king of Wessex.

§ II. Invasions of the Danes, favored by internal dissensions.—Beginning of the reign of Alfred the Great.—*His reverses.*—*His constancy.*—*His success.*—*Wise and skilful government of Alfred.*—His efforts to civilize England.—Institutions and laws which are attributed to him.—Successors of Alfred.—Contest with the Scotch.—Development of the English power.—New Danish invasions.—*Danegeld* imposed upon the English.—The Dane Sueno makes himself master of England.—Reign of Canute the Great.—Division of his heritage.—The ancient Saxon race reascends the throne.—Influence of the Normands under Edward the Confessor.—The way prepared for the conquest.

#### § I.

#### ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS IN GREAT BRITAIN.— HEPTARCHY.

41. Britain abandoned by the Romans.—Invasion of the Caledonians.—The Saxons called in by the Britons.—Britain

was too remote to be preserved long. When the invasion began, it became necessary to protect the heart of the Empire, instead of watching over distant frontiers. Under Honorius, all the Roman legions were recalled from Britain, in spite of the prayers of the inhabitants, who were thus left exposed to the attacks of the Caledonians. Thus condemned to independence, they substituted an imperfect organization to the Roman institutions, and raised national troops to supply the place of the legions. But degenerated by long servitude, they had become incapable either of governing or of defending themselves. Instead of uniting for the common safety, the chiefs thought only of making war upon one another for the supreme power. While they were engaged in their dissensions, their indefatigable neighbors redoubled their attacks. The continual ravages of the Caledonians and Saxon pirates spread universal consternation and despair: the fields were left without cultivation; famine and the plague desolated the whole island. In their distress, the Britons addressed *their groans* to Aetius, who commanded in Gaul; but Aetius could not divide his forces. They then took the fatal resolution of interesting their enemies in their defence, and called the Saxons to their aid (448), with the offer of the little island of Thane, as a reward for their services.

Hardly had the pirates landed when they began to demand ampler territories; and the Britons repenting their imprudence in calling in such dangerous auxiliaries, refused to fulfil their engagements. War of course broke out between the *white dragon* of the pirates, and the *red dragon* of the Britons. But the efforts of the brave *Wortigern*, head chief of the Britons, and his son *Wortimer*, were vain against their ferocious and warlike enemies, whose ranks were increased daily by new arrivals.

42. *Seven kingdoms founded by the Saxons and Angles.*—*Hengist*, chief of the Saxons, after having conquered the

Scots and Britons, took in 455, the title of king of Kent. For seventy years the invasion continued. The Britons, divided among themselves, were defeated, as well as their old enemies, the Scots, and were gradually shut up in the mountainous districts of Wales and Cornwall. Great numbers fled to Gaul, where they established themselves in Armorica, and gave to their new country the manners, language, and name of the old (Brittany). Meantime several Saxon chiefs settled in the countries abandoned by the vanquished Britons, founding successively the kingdoms of Sussex (Sudsex, 491), Wessex (Westsex, 516), and Essex (Estsex, 526). *Arthur* alone (514-542), the hero of British fable, succeeded in preserving some portion of national independence, though his exploits can hardly be said to belong to authentic history.

The first phase of the invasion was over: but soon appeared a new people, more savage and cruel than the Saxons themselves, and who came to seize upon the northern provinces which had remained in the hands of the Britons. *Edda*, chief of the *Angles*, setting out from the Cimbric Chersonesus, landed with all his tribe in the north of Briton. After winning by his frightful devastations the surname of *Firebrand*, he established himself there, and founded, in 547, the kingdom of Northumberland. A detachment of his tribe formed, a few years later, that of East Angles (571); and in 584 a third kingdom was founded by the Angles, under the name of the kingdom of Mercia.

43. *Constitution of the heptarchy.*—*Reunion of the seven kingdoms.*—Thus was founded the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy, as it has generally been called, though from the original separation of Bernicia and Deira, it might more properly be termed an octarchy. Common interest first united the two races. The whole body of the victorious population leagued together to subdue Britain and oppress the vanquished. The natives diminished rapidly under the weight of a frightful

tyranny, and the peaceful religion of Christ was supplanted by the bloody superstition of Odin. But the zeal of the missionaries sent by the Holy See, and led by the monk *Augustin*, was soon, under *Ethelbert*, king of Kent (596-616), and who was for a moment master of the whole heptarchy, to raise again the altars of Christianity, and exercise an influence of peace and concord over these ferocious conquerors (v. ch. vi.).

The heptarchy had a general council, called the *Witnagemot* (a council of sages), which, under the direction of the *Bretwalda*, the supreme chief, decided all questions of common interest. This institution, however, does not appear to have had great influence, and in spite of its conciliatory action, it was not long before the different people were again divided.

War soon destroyed the equilibrium between the seven kingdoms, and those of Wessex, Mercia, and Northumberland had already reduced the neighboring states under their dominion, when *Egbert the Great*, king of Wessex (800), a soldier trained in the armies of Charlemagne, united them all under his sceptre, and founded a real monarchy in England. Part of the British population had found a refuge from foreign dominion among the mountains of Cornwall and Wales. This feeble remnant of a great people had the glory of keeping possession of their last corner of land against all the efforts of a people immensely their superior in numbers and in wealth; often conquered, but never subdued, and preserving through ages of trial the unshaken conviction that a mysterious eternity was reserved for their language and their name. This eternity was predicted by the Welsh bards from the first day of their defeat, and the result seems to have justified their rash predictions.

## § II.

CIVIL WARS.—DANISH INVASIONS.—KINGDOM OF ENGLAND TO  
THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

44. *Danish invasions.*—The new monarchy which had sprung from an invasion, was to end also by an invasion. For several years the coasts of England had been ravaged by the Danish sea-kings (v. ch. x. § i.). Their incursions became more frequent and terrible after the death of Egbert. At the moment when union alone could have saved the nation from these terrible enemies, Ethelwolf divided his kingdom among his children (858). The dissensions of the princes favored the progress of the Danes, aided by the Welsh and the Scotch, mortal enemies of the Anglo-Saxon race. On their first attack, the famous pirate Lodbrock was taken prisoner, and perished in a frightful dungeon filled with serpents; but his death-song was repeated on all the coasts of Scandinavia. His sons fell upon the north of England, massacred the inhabitants, and divided the lands among themselves. Edmund the king was taken prisoner, and whipped to death by the barbarous conquerors. The hour of their triumph, however, was not yet come; a hero snatched their prey from their hands. The youngest of Ethelwolf's sons, Alfred, who had been sent to be crowned in Rome by the pope when only five years old, and had given early proofs of his shining talents, was called to the throne by the death of his brother, who had died of a wound received in fighting manfully against the Danes (871).

45. *Beginning of the reign of Alfred.*—*Reverses.*—*Expulsion of the Danes.*—Alfred's talents were formed in the rude school of adversity. For seven years he struggled against adverse fortune, vainly, but with indomitable cour-

age. Every wave seemed to bring a new enemy to the English coast. The Saxons themselves became wearied with a hopeless struggle, and all yielded but Alfred. The king of Mercia took refuge at Rome under the disguise of a pilgrim; but Alfred would not leave his kingdom. Concealed amid woods and marshes, and reduced to seek shelter in the hut of a swineherd, he calmly waited for better times. With a few friends he hazarded occasional attacks upon small detachments of the enemy, and at last, raising his standard, collected an army on the borders of Selwood forest. To ascertain the enemy's position, he entered their camp in the garb of a minstrel, and then taking advantage of the information which he had thus gained, he fell upon them unawares and put them to flight (878). Gothum, their chief, swore peace with Mercia, and received baptism. A few years afterwards, another sea-king, Hastings, appeared in league with the Danes of Northumberland. But Alfred shut up the pirates in their camp, took Hastings's wife and children prisoners, and only released them on condition that the Danes should quit England immediately. From that time the peace of his reign was unbroken.

46. *Wise and skilful government of Alfred the Great.*—

This prince was the greatest king of old England. Worthy rival of Charlemagne, while fighting for the independence of his country he labored to diffuse the lights of civilization among a barbarous people. As a child, he had manifested a remarkable fondness for study. His mother was one day showing her children a volume of Saxon poems beautifully illuminated, with the promise that it should be his who should learn the quickest to read. Alfred, though youngest of all, set himself to the task, and was soon able to recite the whole volume. When king, it saddened him to see that very few on the banks of the Humber, and fewer still on the banks of the Thames, could understand their Latin prayers. He

called learned men to his court, learnt Latin himself at the age of thirty-eight, translated Bede, Orosius, Boethius, opened schools, chiefly for those who were destined for the church, and founded, it is said, the university and library of Oxford. The churches and monasteries which had been destroyed by the Danes were rebuilt or repaired, and missionaries sent through the country to extend the mild influence of Christianity.

47. *Institutions attributed to Alfred.*—The admiration of the English loved to attribute to Alfred many noble and useful institutions which had been gradually formed before his time, and which he only completed and developed. From his reign England was divided into *counties*, hundreds, and tythings, and every citizen was required to take his place in one of these divisions, under penalty of being proscribed as a vagabond. The heads of ten families who formed the tything, were responsible for one another; and the tything was judge of the disputes between its members. Where the communities themselves were concerned, the cause was carried before the assembly of the canton, composed of a hundred families, from which twelve freemen were chosen to decide the question on oath. This was the origin of the *jury*. In every county there was a superior tribunal, which met twice a year, under the presidency of the bishop or of the alderman of the county. The great council of the nation, the *Wittenagemot*, composed of bishops, abbots, counts, and larger landholders, and which contrived to exercise supreme control over the whole judicial hierarchy, was convened by the king himself.

These different institutions, the development of which was favored by the enactment of laws common to all, had the happiest influence on the order and police of the kingdom, and Alfred is said to have hung up valuable bracelets by the highway, which no one dared to touch. But the greatest



danger came from without ; and to guard against this, he had a fleet of long, fast-sailing ships, built for the protection of the coast. In the midst of these useful enterprises he was cut off at the age of fifty-three (900), and his work of regeneration, like that of Charlemagne, perished with him. Yet his memory has survived to adorn the brightest page of the annals of British kings, and his immediate successors found an efficient protection against foreign invasion in the energy of his measures and the glory of his reign.

48. *Contest with Scotland.*—During the tenth century the kingdom was only troubled by internal dissensions and occasional wars with Scotland. Most of Alfred's successors, following the example of his son *Edward the Elder* (900–925), endeavored to preserve the country from invasion by building fortresses, increasing the fleet, and disciplining the army : and under *Edgar the Pacific* (957–975), Wales, Scotland, and Ireland itself acknowledged the supremacy of England. At the same period, St. Dunstan, a severe censor of corrupt manners, travelled over the kingdom, reforming the religious orders and re-establishing the purity of ecclesiastical discipline.

49. *Conquest of England by the Danes.*—*Canute the Great and his successors.*—It was not till the reign of Ethelred II. (978–1013), seventy-eight years after Alfred's death, that the Danes recommenced their attacks. Suenq and Olof, kings of Denmark and Norway, compelled the English to ransom themselves by the tribute of *Danegeld*. Ethelred thought that he could escape from this ignominy by massacring all the Danes established in his states (1003). A fearful invasion avenged this cowardly treachery. The cities were burnt ; the inhabitants slaughtered in the churches in which they had sought a refuge ; Ethelred driven into exile ; and *Sueno* took possession of the throne (1013).

The new dynasty gave England an illustrious prince, *Canute the Great*, son of Sueno, who reigned over Scandinavia and Great Britain. His marriage with Ethelred's widow, the re-establishment of the laws of Alfred, and the mildness of his government, won him the affections of the conquered as well as the conquerors: the English marched in his train to the conquest of Norway. Canute, proud of his power, took the title of *Emperor of the North*—king of kings. The pope, whom he visited as a pilgrim, and the emperor of Germany, sought his alliance. He left at his death three crowns to his sons *Sueno*, *Hardi Canute*, and *Harold*. But for six years these princes waged incessant war against one another, and after the death of the two last, followed by Sueno's withdrawing to Denmark, the sceptre slipped from the grasp of the Danish dynasty. The old Saxon race remounted the throne, with *Edward the Confessor* (1042–1066). This prince, who had been educated in Normandy, brought back to his kingdom the language and the manners of the French Normans; and their admission to civil and ecclesiastical offices prepared the way for the conquest, which was completed under the reign of Harold, his successor (v. ch. x.).

## CHAPTER IV.

### HISTORY OF THE FRANKS.—ORGANIZATION OF THE BARBARIANS AFTER THE CONQUEST.

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#### SUMMARY.

**PART FIRST.**—§ I. First settlements of the Franks beyond the Rhine.—Conquest of Gaul by Clovis.—Foundation of the Frank monarchy.—Battle of Tolbiac.—Conversion of Clovis.—Battle of Vouglé.—Conquest of Aquitania.—Division of the kingdom of Clovis.—Rivalry of the sons of Clovis.—Conquest of Burgundy.—Expedition against the Visigoths.—Into Italy.—Chlothaire I. sole master of the Frank monarchy.—Expeditions of the Franks into Burgundy, Italy, Spain, and Germany.

§ II. Second period of the History of the Franks.—Division of the kingdom of Chlothaire.—Rivalry between Austrasia and Neustria.—Fredegunde and Brunehilde.—Treaty of Andelot.—New civil wars.—Chlothaire II. sole king.—Mayors of the palace.—Pepin of Landen.—Austrasia overcomes Neustria.—Dagobert.—The last Merovingians or *Fainéants* kings.—The mayor Grimoald.—Contests between the mayors Ebroin and St. Leger.—Pepin of Herstal duke of Austrasia.—Triumph of Austrasia at Testry.—Pepin's government.—Troubles after Pepin's death.—Charles Martel, duke of the Franks.—His exploits.—Carloman and Pepin.—War in Aquitania.—Retreat of Carloman.—The last Merovingian is deposed and Pepin proclaimed king.

**PART SECOND.**—§ I. State of Europe after the invasion.—State of the lands.—Division between the conquerors.—Allodial—Beneficiary—Tributary lands.

§ II. Influence of property on the state of persons.—Beginning of a social hierarchy.—Of the nobility.—Of freemen.—Of the *lidi* and freedmen.—Of slaves.

§ III. Modification of the German idea of government by the influence of Roman ideas.—Development of the royal power.—Decay of popular sovereignty.—Formation of the aristocracy.

§ IV. Changes in legislation.—Written laws among the Barbarians.—Character of their legislation more or less modified by the principles of the Roman law.—Personal character of their laws.

§ V. Immediate but secondary results of the invasion.—Principal results.—Regeneration of society.—Combination of Roman and German principles under the influence of Christianity.

## PART FIRST.

### § I.

FIRST SETTLEMENTS, FIRST TRIBES, AND FIRST CHIEFS OF THE FRANKS.—CLOVIS.—CIVIL WARS AND EXPEDITIONS OF THE FRANKS.

50. *First settlements of the Franks beyond the Rhine.*—As early as the middle of the third century, the Franks were already united in a confederation which constantly menaced that beautiful and extensive province which was one day to become their own. To disarm these indefatigable enemies, the emperors had abandoned to several of their tribes the country districts of northern Gaul, which had been laid waste by their incessant inroads. Julian the Apostate had given them Toxandria, on condition that they would defend the frontiers of the empire, which they did valiantly. But they claimed a larger share; and no sooner had the great shock been given to the Roman dominion by the general invasion, than they began once more the contest, which was to end only with their triumph. They were seen for a moment

under Meroveus, fighting with the Romans against the Huns at the battle of Châlons (451); and they had attempted also to check the advance of the general invasion, with the intention, doubtless, of reserving for themselves the inheritance which they had coveted so long. But already, before the time of Meroveus, *Chlodian*, chief of the Salian Franks, had appeared as conqueror on the banks of the Somme. *Childe-ric* (456-481), son of Meroveus, dethroned by his subjects on account of his debauchery and afterwards restored to power, had pushed his expeditions to the banks of the Loire. The completion of the conquest was reserved for his son.

51. *Conquest of Gaul by Clovis* (481-511), (v. *Supplement*).—Clovis, king at fifteen of the little tribe of Franks of Tournay, leagued with Ragnacar, chief of the Franks of Cambrai, to attack the Roman governor, Syagrius, and overthrew, by the battle of Soissons, the Roman dominion in northern Gaul (486). Though married to *St. Chlotilda*, daughter of Gondebald, king of Burgundy, he had adhered firmly to the worship of his idols, in spite of the solicitations of the pious princess. But at the battle of *Tolbiac* (496) against the *Allemani*, he made a vow, on seeing his soldiers break and fly, that if he won the day he would embrace Christianity. He won it, and was baptized by *St. Remi*, Archbishop of Rheims, together with more than three thousand of his warriors, who followed their leader to the font as they would have followed him to battle. Thus Clovis became the natural protector of the Catholics, and in turning his arms against his heretical rivals, seemed to be fulfilling a solemn duty. Accordingly, after having subjected the Burgundians to a tribute (500), he declared war against the heretical *Visigoths*. "I cannot bear," said he, "that those Arians should possess the best part of Gaul: let us go forth against them; and when we have, by God's help, overcome them, we will reduce their country under our dominion and

their persons to slavery." Deceiving his enemy by a shameful perjury, he went forward, guided, says the monkish historian, by a miraculous agent, and encountering Alaric II. at *Vouglé*, gained a victory, which the death of his antagonist rendered the more complete, and would have overrun the whole kingdom if Theodoric had not checked him in mid-course upon the banks of the Rhone. To make amends for this, he established his authority in Armorica, and took possession, by treachery and murder, of the territories of the Frank chiefs of Cologne, Terouane, Cambrai, and Mans; and died, in 511, leaving to his sons the care of completing the conquest of Burgundy for which he had prepared the way.

At his death it was seen how dangerous a thing it is to leave a throne without any fixed order of succession, and expose a nation, like a private inheritance, to all the chances of arbitrary division. This principle of division, which the Franks had brought with them from Germany, became the source of endless disputes among the descendants of Clovis, and crowned by frightful crimes a long series of suffering.

52. *Rivalry of the children of Clovis.—Their expeditions.*  
—*Chlothaire I.*—Clovis had divided his states among his four children. To *Thierry*, the eldest, he gave Metz, with the country which lies between the Rhine and the Meuse, and a part of Aquitania. *Childebert* was king of Paris and the banks of the Seine, with the rest of Aquitania. *Chlodomir* reigned over Orleans and the banks of the Loire. *Chlothaire* received Soissons and the provinces of the northwest of Gaul.

The Franks preserved, under the sons of Clovis, their warlike and conquering character; but they turned it as often against one another as against foreigners. They carried their arms into Germany, Burgundy, Spain, and Italy. *Chlodomir*, conqueror of Sigismund, king of Burgundy (523), put him to death, but was killed himself the next year by

Gondemar, Sigismund's father, and his children were assassinated by their uncles Childebert and Chlothaire. While Thierry, aided by Chlothaire, made war upon the Thuringians (524), Childebert overran his dominion (507), till his victorious brother returned to lay waste the kingdom of Paris with fire and sword (530).

At length, after so much discord and crime, the sons of Clovis united together in one great expedition, and in three campaigns made themselves masters of Burgundy (531-534). Childebert made war upon Amalaric, king of the Visigoths, to revenge the cruelty with which the Arian had treated his wife, the sister of the Frank king : but though successful in the beginning, ample booty was all that he retained of his conquest. *Theodebert*, the son of Thierry, is the Frank hero of this epoch. He carried his adventurous arms into Italy, where the Greeks and the Ostrogoths were waging a destructive war, and returned laden with booty, after having beaten both his allies and his enemies. Provence, which the Visigoths had ceded to him as a reward for his alliance, became a part of his kingdom. His son *Theodebert* (548-555) inherited his warlike disposition and his projects ; but the two chiefs whom he sent across the Alps, Leutharis and Bucelin, lost their armies, and the Franks renounced for a while these distant expeditions.

After *Theodebert's* death, which was soon followed by that of Childebert (558), Chlothaire remained sole master of all the inheritance of his father's family. But his reign was none the more tranquil ; and the revolt of his son *Chramne*, whom he conquered, and caused to be burnt to death in a cottage, was both the punishment and the crowning act of his criminal enterprises.

## § II.

DECAY OF THE MEROVINGIANS.—VICTORY OF AUSTRASIA OVER NEUSTRIA.—MAYORS OF THE PALACE OF THE TWO COUNTRIES.—THE TWO PEPINS.

53. *New division.—Rivalry of Austrasia and Neustria.—Brunechilde and Fredegund.*—Chlothaire I. died in 561, and his states were divided among his four sons: *Charibert* reigned at Paris, *Gontran* at Orleans, *Siegbert* at Metz, and *Chilperic* at Soissons. Upon the death of Charibert, a new division was made, which marks out more clearly the separation of the different races which were then comprised in the empire of the Franks. Gontran received Burgundy, Siegbert Austrasia, and Chilperic Neustria. Neustria was the country of the tribe of Clovis which had subdued Gaul, and advancing towards the south, had been quickly subjected to the influence of the old Roman population. Austrasia was peopled by other tribes nearer to Germany, who had preserved their primitive manners and their love of war and conquest. Hence the deep-rooted and constant rivalry between Austrasia and Neustria, which was in fact a contest between Germany and the last remnants of Roman society in Gaul.

The contest began by the famous quarrel of the two queens, *Fredegund*, wife of Chilperic, and *Brunechilde*, wife of the king of Austrasia, who seem to personify the two races. Fredegund had raised herself to the throne by procuring the death of *Galswintha*, Brunechilde's sister. Brunechilde excited her husband to punish the assassin, and Siegbert had already invaded the kingdom of Neustria, and had himself proclaimed by the *nobles*, when he was assassinated by Fredegund's emissaries (577). His death



turned the scale in favor of Chilperic, who attacked Austrasia, and but for Gontran's intervention, would have seized upon the inheritance of his nephew, the young Childebert. While Childebert governed by the advice of his mother, Brunechilde, who after a long captivity had escaped from her enemies, Chilperic was assassinated, as was supposed, by his wife, and Gontran became the protector of his young son *Chlothaire II.* against the ambition of Childebert.

54. *Treaty of Andelot.*—*Clothaire II. sole king.*—A dangerous revolt in Aquitania, fostered by the patrician Mummo-lus, suspended for a while by a common danger the discord of the Frank kings. The rebels were subdued (584), and three years afterwards the alliance of the three kings was confirmed by the celebrated *treaty of Andelot*, which strengthening the military aristocracy by making fiefs hereditary, prepared the way for the usurpations of the *Mayors of the palace* (587). New troubles broke out at the death of Gontran (593) and Childebert (596). Brunechilde assumed the government in Austrasia and Burgundy, as guardian of Childebert's two sons, *Theodebert II.* and *Thierry II.* Fredegund, who ruled Neustria in the name of Chlothaire II., declared war against her, and gained a great victory. But dying shortly after (596), Brunechilde's grandchildren repaired their losses by stripping Chlothaire of the greater part of his states (600). Nothing but the discord of the two brothers saved him from total destruction. Theodebert, after having conquered and put to death Thierry and his son Merovæus, died suddenly (613). Chlothaire was proclaimed king by the nobles of Burgundy and Austrasia, who delivered into his hands Brunechilde and the children of Thierry. The unhappy princess was condemned to a horrid death by her implacable enemy—and thus ended the last act of the bloody drama which had begun with the death of Clovis (613).

55. *Mayordom of the palace.*—*Austrasia separates from*

**Neustria.**—Chlothaire did not maintain long in his vast dominions the unity of power which had been re-established by the precarious union of Austrasia and Neustria. The Austrasian nobles, dissatisfied with their subjection to a chief of a rival race, resumed their national individuality by compelling Chlothaire to give them for king his son Dagobert, under the guardianship of *Pepin of Landen* (or the elder), their mayor of the palace, who was the real head of the government. When the death of his father (628), and of his brother Charibert (631), had again reunited France under one sceptre, the Austrasians exacted from Dagobert the recognition of their independence with his son Siegbert II. for king (638). From that time the mayordom of the palace became the sovereign authority in Austrasia, and soon effaced that of a royalty which had sunk to an empty name.

In Neustria, where the title of king was preserved to the very last, the power passed also from children and feeble princes to the vigorous hands of the mayors. After Dagobert, who had rendered his sceptre redoubtable by his victories over the Saxons, the Gascons, and the Armoricans, and who had been aided in his wise administration by the advice of *St. Elói*, begins that long series of princes without authority and without influence, whom history has classed under the general and ignominious name of *fainéants*.

56. *The fainéants kings after Dagobert.*—*Contest between Ebroin and St. Leger.*—While the kingdom of Neustria passed to Clovis II. (638), Pepin of Landen transmitted the supreme power in Austrasia to his son *Grimuald*, who acquired such an ascendancy by the support of the clergy, that on the death of Siegbert he ventured to shut up the young *Dagobert II.* in a cloister, and thought that he might give the sceptre to his own son. But the *nobles* became suspicious of the ambitious projects of their mayor, and depriving him of his power, gave themselves once more to the king of

Neustria. But the union maintained by the wisdom of the mayor of Neustria, *Erchinoald*, was soon broken when the royal power had passed to the eldest son of Clovis II., *Chlothaire III.* (656), and the office of mayor to the impetuous *Ebroin*. The nobles, whose influence was menaced by the mayor, revolted under the guidance of *St. Leger*, bishop of Autun, mayor of Burgundy, and took for king *Childeric II.*, brother of Chlothaire III., while Ebroin gave the title of king of Neustria to Thierry III., third son of Clovis II. Ebroin and his phantom king were beaten and thrown into a cloister; but the conqueror Childeric II. had the imprudence to reject the sage advice of *St. Leger*, whom he shut up in the same convent with Ebroin, and to irritate the nobles by his violent and tyrannic measures. A revolt set the two mayors at liberty. Ebroin restored to Thierry III. the sceptre of Childeric, who perished by the hands of an assassin, and attacked *St. Leger*, who had been re-established in his authority in Burgundy. *St. Leger* was defeated, and falling into the hands of his enemy, was put to death after cruel tortures. Marvellous stories have been handed down of the miracles which attended his punishment, and his memory was venerated as that of a saint.

57. *Pepin of Heristal.—Triumph of Austrasia over Neustria.*—During these troubles and divisions, Austrasia had definitively abolished royalty, and confirmed its independence under the authority of the wise and skilful mayor of the palace, *Pepin of Heristal*, who received the title of duke (678). Ere long the contest broke out anew between the two rival races. Ebroin, victorious in a first battle, was assassinated (681), and Austrasia soon took a brilliant revenge at the famous battle of Testry (687), won by *Pepin of Heristal*, which established the preponderance of the Austrasians, and may be considered as the last and decisive victory of Germany over Gaul.

Pepin of Heristal, chief of all the Frank races, and firmly sustained by the clergy, whom he had conciliated by a sincere attachment to the church, preserved to his death an authority which he confirmed by his wise administration and his victories over the Britons, the Frisons, and the Allemanni. He had raised successively to a nominal throne, *Clovis III.* (691), *Childebert III.* (695), and *Dagobert III.* (711).

58. *Troubles.*—*Charles Martel.*—*His exploits.*—After Pepin's death the preponderance of Austrasia seemed for an instant to be compromised. The nobles of Neustria gave the office of mayor to *Rainfroy*. The new mayor expelled Theodebald, grandson of Pepin, who had bequeathed him his authority under the guardianship of St. Plectrude, his widow. But *Charles*, a natural son of Pepin, roused the courage of the Austrasians, conquered in two battles *Childeric II.*, who had made a momentary effort to exercise the royal power for his own advantage, and gave his throne and the title of king to *Chlothaire IV.*, while he reserved the royal authority for himself. He employed it wisely and nobly. During ten years he waged a fierce war against the Saxons, the Frisons, and the Bavarians (720–730), and returned at the head of his victorious army to oppose the invasion of the Mussulmen, who had made themselves masters of Spain and Septimania, and were advancing through Aquitania, under the Emir *Abdrame*. The celebrated *battle of Poitiers* (732) saved France and Europe, and won for Charles the surname of *Martel* (hammer). Charles had won his victory with the aid of Aquitania, which formed an independent state under the successors of Charibert. But this ancient conquest of Clovis excited his ambition. He subdued Duke *Eudes*, seized upon *Provence*, which had yielded to the Arabs, and invaded their possessions of Septimania.

59. *Pepin and Carloman.*—*Pepin is proclaimed king.*—Charles, who after the death of *Thierry II.* had left the th

vacant, without taking for himself the name of king, divided his states between his two sons, *Carloman*, to whom he gave Austrasia, and *Pepin*, surnamed the Short, to whom he gave Neustria and Burgundy (742). The two princes united to suppress the insurrection of Bavaria, which had been conquered by Charles Martel, and force the Duke of Aquitania to do them homage. Soon Carloman retired to a convent (747), and the whole of France was reunited under Pepin, who at first thought it prudent to restore the sceptre to the feeble Childeric III., last descendant of the Merovingian race, in order to build up his authority without fear under the shadow of a royal name. But once firmly established, and invited, it is said, by the nobles, to assume the supreme title where he had long held the supreme authority, he consulted Pope Zacchary, and by the advice of this pontiff, deposed Childeric, and caused himself to be proclaimed king by his warriors in the field of May (687).

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## PART SECOND.

### ORGANIZATION OF THE BARBARIANS AFTER THE CONQUEST.

The invasion of the Barbarians, ending by the establishment of so many new nations upon the soil which the Roman empire had occupied, changes the whole aspect of society. The imperial organization, the last product of Roman civilization, disappears, or is reduced for a long time to a secondary part. During all the first half of the middle ages, the Germanic customs regulate, almost exclusively, the state of persons and property, and predominate in the government and laws.

## § I.

## OF LANDS.

60. *Division of lands among the conquerors.*—The invasion was every where followed by the distribution of the conquered lands among the conquerors ; and the division was made according to the customs of each people. The Burgundians took from the Romans half of their dwellings, two-thirds of the cultivated lands, and only one-third of their slaves. A race of shepherds, they needed vast pastures for their flocks, and few servants. The Burgundian, mild and sociable in his habits, was the *guest* of the Roman with whom he took up his residence : he sat at his table, and when he wished to sell his lands, he would naturally prefer the Roman to any other purchaser. The Visigoths took the same part as the Burgundians. The Ostrogoths, who were spread all over Italy, contented themselves with a third of the lands already invaded by the Heruli ; but while several of the Barbarians, as a compensation for their invasions, exempted the conquered people from taxes, the Ostrogoths maintained the taxes on persons and on real estate which the Romans had paid under the empire. The Lombards, who on their arrival in Italy, had lost nothing of their nomadic habits, did not trouble themselves about property ; this they left to the Italians, and exacted only a third of the products of all the lands, until the habits of a sedentary life gradually transformed them into a people of farmers. The Franks do not seem to have despoiled the Gallo-Romans ; but they doubtless took for themselves the deserted fields or the vast fiscal estates which the fall of the empire had left without a master. The domains which were not divided remained public property, common to all where every one was free to feed his flocks, according

old German usage, which required the cultivator to throw down his inclosures after harvest.

61. *Allodial—Beneficiary—Tributary lands.*—The lands distributed by lot among the heads of families of the conquering tribes, were called *allodial* (from *los*, lot). “The warrior,” says Bouteiller, “holds his land only from God, who directed the cast of the lot, and from his sword, which won the victory.” Therefore allodial lands were exempt from taxation and tribute. The primitive *allodium* was also called *salic land* (from *sala*, manor). As it had been originally given as the reward of valor, so it was always to remain in the hands of a warrior: and thus, among most of the German tribes, it could only pass to a female when there were no males to inherit it. Among the Franks, females could not inherit it in any case.

At the side of this independent and hereditary allodium was the *benefice* or *fief*, essentially precarious and subordinate. The origin of benefices must be referred to Roman usages and German institutions. It is allied to those concessions of land by which the emperors endeavored to fix the Barbarian tribes upon the soil of the empire, and above all, to the old German custom of vassalage. The German chief, surrounded by numerous companions, rewarded their services by dividing his booty among them, and gave them his protection in exchange for their devotion to his person. But when their definitive settlement upon the Roman soil had rendered pillage rarer and modified their wants, warriors required other recompenses; and lands were given them on condition of homage to the chief who had granted them, following him to war, sitting in his assemblies of justice, and aiding him on all occasions. And thus the personal relation of vassalage was changed into a relation wholly territorial.

The usufructuary benefices, which at first, after the death of the grantee, returned as a matter of right to the grantor,

soon became eventually hereditary: the land could be granted on the same conditions by which it was held. The lord lost the power of taking it away at will, and the beneficiary's heir acquired the right of holding the fief for himself, by doing homage and accepting the obligations contracted by his father: a privilege which was soon after converted into an absolute right of inheritance.

The full grant of a domain for a moneyed rent, an institution of purely Roman origin, continued after the invasion. These lands were called tributary.

## § II.

### OF PERSONS.

62. *Influence of property on the state of persons.—Social hierarchy.*—In such a disorganized society as that which begins with the fifth century, it is useless to look for a well defined classification of persons. The Germanic principles give, as will be seen, to landed property a great influence over the state of persons, by connecting with it those personal prerogatives which among the Romans were essentially independent. In the beginning, however, this influence was not yet powerful enough to determine, in a general manner, the social state of individuals; it only modified the classes, which, though with very little precision, existed in German society before the invasion.

The principle of equality prevailed in Germany, admitting of scarcely any other distinctions than those of fact. Freemen possessing equal rights formed the nation (see ch. i. § ii.); above them rose a few individuals, but only by virtue of personal merit. Below them were the slaves, whose condition, though they were not regarded as members of the tribes, was far from that of the same class in Rome.



After the conquest, the separation between the classes becomes more marked, and a certain social hierarchy begins. We no longer see among the nobles that mobility, that individuality, which we have remarked in ancient Germany; but we do not yet see those characteristics of an inaccessible and privileged cast, which will give them so much strength in the next period.

63. *The nobility.—The clergy.—Freemen.—The liti, freedmen, slaves.*—Whatever can render man illustrious and powerful is a title of nobility. Glory, fortune, talent, royal favor, contribute equally to form a sort of aristocracy to which every man can aspire, and which gives no other legal privilege than a claim to a higher pecuniary compensation for an injury. Among these nobles we find the descendants of German chiefs, heirs of vast domains awarded to their fathers after the conquest; the warriors, whose valor the king rewards by the gift of some fief, and the high functionaries of the palace. Those who in the German tribe would have been the counsellors of the nation, become the counsellors of the king, who endeavors to attach them to his own person in order to strengthen his influence.

Such, among the Franks, are the *Leudes*, companions or *fideles* of the king: the *antrustions*, royal guests, who themselves have vassals attached to their own persons: among the Saxons, the royal *thanes*: the *optimates* in Burgundy: the counts and dukes among the Visigoths. But these distinctions were not reserved for the conquerors alone: those of the Romans who were still great landholders, and even freedmen, enriched by their masters' favor, were admitted to the title of royal guests. This nobility does not yet secure any political privilege—has not yet become the essential condition of admission to any office.

The members of the clergy are almost always assimilated

with the men of the first class, and the bishops with the noblest among the warriors.

The freemen (*fribourgs*), proprietors of allodiums, and warriors (*ahrimanni*), admitted in arms to the national assemblies, compose the second class. Their property guarantees their independence ; but it is soon menaced and destroyed by the constantly increasing preponderance of the nobility.

The *lidi*, freemen by origin who have passed into vassalage, and *enfranchised slaves*, incapable of exercising the full right of property, form an intermediary class, generally subjected to statute labor and rent service, but enjoying a certain degree of personal independence, and superior to the *slaves*, who still stand at the bottom of the social scale, though soon to disappear under the double influence of German manners and the principles of Christianity.

### § III.

#### OF GOVERNMENT.

64. *German traditions modified by Roman customs.*—The German traditions were long preserved, both in government and in the organization of society ; but not without being gradually modified by the influence of Roman ideas. Among the Germanic tribes the government of society was based upon two foundations of unequal importance, the sovereignty of the people, and the precarious delegation of the supreme power to a chief rather than to a king. Both of these elements appear again after the conquest ; but the reaction of Roman customs tends promptly and almost universally to give the preponderance to the second, and gradually do away with the first.

Royalty surrounds itself with all the pomp of the Roman ceremonial and titles, which the Barbarian chiefs ask

favor from the heirs of the empire ; frivolous phantoms in appearance, but which change by degrees the nature of their power. Alaric, chief of the Visigoths, asked for the title of prefect of Illyria ; Odoacer the Herulian was named patrician by the emperor of the East ; Clovis solicited the same distinction ; Theodoric was proclaimed consul, and adopted by Zeno. Thus the royal dignity was elevated and confirmed. The principle of election, so active in Germany, is slowly undermined, and is every where combined with the constantly increasing custom of confining the election to the members of the royal family.

65. *Weakening of the sovereignty of the people.—Progress of the aristocracy.*—The general assemblies, a true national representation or rather participation of the whole nation in the government, were continued for some time. But their primitive character was quickly lost in the *Field of March* of the *Franks*, the *Diet of Pavia* of the *Lombards*, the *Wittenagemot* of the *Anglo-Saxons*, and the *Council of Toledo* of the *Visigoths*, in which the most important decisions were taken, and the gravest disputes decided. The constantly increasing preponderance of the nobles, the establishment of a hierarchy of dignitaries, *dukes, counts, &c.*, tend by degrees to banish from the national assemblies their essential element, the *freemen*, or leaving them only a secondary place, to create a rich aristocracy, which, after having destroyed the Germanic traditions of popular sovereignty, soon attacks the sovereign power itself.

#### § IV.

##### LEGISLATION OF THE BARBARIANS.

66. *General character of the Barbarian legislation.*—This change in the character of the government is followed by a

correlative and equally important modification in legislation. In place of those customs, the direct expression of the general wants and interests of the community, by which the German tribes had hitherto been governed, and of which the people was at once the depository, the interpreter, and the executor, appear written laws, framed after the Roman model.

However, the greater part of these codes sanction, after the conquest, the ancient usages of Germany. We find there that curious practice which leaves it to chance to decide upon innocence or guilt, judicial combat, the trial by boiling water, and by heated iron, which superstition accepts as a *judgment of God*. Among nations long accustomed to a life of violence and devastation, and whose daily occupation is war, the punishment of murder is left to the relations of the murdered man, unless they choose to accept a pecuniary compensation (*wehrgeld*), which is fixed by law according to the rank or dignity of the victim. Capital punishment is reserved for cowardice and treason, often even for theft, which is held to be the most dangerous of all perfidy among a wandering people, who have no other safeguard for their property but mutual confidence.

67. *Special characteristics of the different legislations.*—These new codes come from the hand of the sovereign, some filled with national traditions, others with deep-set marks of foreign influence. They give a just idea of the respective situation of the different tribes with regard to Roman society. The *Salic* law, the law of the conquering tribe of Clovis, and which perhaps was reduced to writing before the conquest, and merely reformed by the Merovingians, preserves the German type throughout, and is almost exclusively directed to repress the excesses of individual liberty by penal dispositions, without attempting to regulate the relations of a civil state which does not yet exist. The *Allemanni* constantly associated with the *Salian Franks* in their inroads

upon the empire : the Saxons, who only leave their forests to invade Britain, already abandoned by the Romans : the Lombards, those savage conquerors of Italy, who never treated the Romans but as a conquered people, scorn to borrow any thing from institutions which they despise, and preserve their old institutions, though modified by the spirit of Christianity. On the other hand, the law of the Ripuarian Franks, who had been long established upon the territories of the empire, begins to adopt some provisions of the Roman law with regard to enfranchisements and the sovereign power, which the Salic law does not even mention. The Burgundians, so remarkable among the Barbarians for the mildness of their manners, quickly submitted to the influence of Roman civilization. Their law, which the Gallo-Romans signed with the Burgundian counts, is filled with fragments of Roman laws, and presents an attempt at civil and political organization : it is the only one which punishes murder by death instead of a simple fine.

The Gothic race, in frequent contact with the empire, received into the Roman territory, formed to the usages, the manners, and the wants of Roman society, preserves but a small portion of its primitive institutions. If the law of the Visigoths (*forum judicum*), drawn up by Euric and his successors, reproduces the German customs with regard to persons, it borrows most of the forms of the civil and criminal practice of the Romans ; and the influence of the clergy gives it that character of humanity which gradually becomes the distinction of modern legislation. A king of the Visigoths, Alaric II., composes for his Roman subjects a collection drawn from the pure sources of Roman law (*breviarium alaricianum*). And finally, the law of the Visigoths, the production of the great Theodoric, is less a barbarous law, bearing the impress of the Roman character, than the Roman law itself, mingled with foreign traditions.

68. *Personality of the laws.*—The writing of these laws, a thing so contrary to all the primitive usages of the Barbarians, became a necessity for them, after the conquest, if they wished to maintain their own institutions in presence of the deeply rooted institutions of the Romans. The Barbarians, too proud to accept the laws of the vanquished, too few and too insecure to impose upon the whole Roman population customs foreign to their ideas and manners, do not pretend to destroy the imperial legislation; they allow it to remain beside their own; and both mingle, without yet uniting, like the two societies which the invasion has brought into contact without amalgamating them. Thus was established the principle of the *personality* of the law. Every one has a right to be judged by his national law; and this right, constantly invoked, is maintained for several centuries, till constant contact, community of interests, and the action of a regular power, gradually effaced the original distinctions of origin and manners, and with them the distinctions of legislation. But from the beginning, all the members of the clergy, to whatever race they belonged, were subjected without distinction to the Roman law; and thus the first example of national unity was given by the church.

## § V.

### GENERAL RESULTS OF THE INVASION.

69. *Immediate but secondary results of the invasion.*—But the realization is still remote; and the world, after the long throes of an invasion which had continued for more than a century, seems abandoned to universal confusion. Countries are laid waste and depopulated by the passage of these ferocious conquerors, who leave behind them so many cities in

ashes, so many provinces devastated : agriculture, already ruined by the disastrous effects of the municipal organization, undergoes a terrible but final trial, and seems for a moment annihilated in the deserted fields. The subversion of all the relations which formerly existed between the provinces, destroys commerce and industry : the light of ancient civilization, which nothing has yet replaced, grows dim on every side, and the loss of hundreds of precious monuments would seem to menace the world with the darkest ignorance, if the church was not to give a refuge in its convents to the wrecks of human science, and preserve them for modern society.

70. *Principal results.—Renovation of society.*—Such were the immediate consequences of the invasion. But far graver and more enduring results are connected with the great commotion of the universe. Although the invasion was partly produced by insensible changes of population, by the slow and successive introduction of numerous tribes, insulated in the midst of the Roman provinces ; although several of them, gradually formed to the imperial organization, submitted to its influence and gradually lost their primitive character ; it is none the less true, that a great number of the Barbarian tribes, suddenly precipitated into the midst of the empire, overthrew from its very foundation a civilization which decay had rendered impotent, and that in the fifth century a universal renovation was accomplished in Europe. The invasion threw a whole society into the Roman world. Instead of those enervated and degraded populations, which yielded to every fluctuation and gave themselves up without resistance to the first invader, we see people of violent and savage manners, with independent and warlike customs, whose power was strong to build up as it had been strong to overthrow ; men with souls ferocious and warlike, but still fresh—an uncultivated but fruitful soil, in which the seeds of truth quickly take root. Already their rude virtues restored to the heart somewhat of

its elevation and noble sentiments, and prepared it for the influence of Christianity, which was to soften the ferocity of their character without diminishing its energy, which was to prepare the creation of modern nationality by uniting, by the ideas of fraternity and spiritual association, the principle of order established in Roman society, with the principle of individuality which German society had introduced. Every thing was changing in the civil and political form of nations. New idioms were uniting their vocabularies to the Latin, and thus forming the double element of modern languages. To the Roman administration the Barbarians substituted their own customs, or mingled them with it, and prepared from afar the great institutions of the middle ages, feudalism and chivalry.

This fusion of the old and new world, this renovation of moral and political society, is the painful work of long years. Not every nation has yet found the soil where it will become definitively established ; but all have been united by the invasion in the vast space which is to contain them. They have brought with them all the materials to rebuild in the midst of the ruins which they had made. They have now to repair the evils of so many frightful shocks ; to establish and to organize themselves.



## CHAPTER V.

### THE EASTERN EMPIRE TO THE CRUSADES.

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#### SUMMARY.

§ I. State of the empire during the reign of Arcadius.—Influence of Pulcheria under Theodosius II.—Marcian.—Religious disputes.—Wars with the Persians under Zeno and Anastasius.—Justin I.—Justinian.—*Exploits of Belisarius against the Persians and Vandals.*—*Belisarius and Narses in Italy.*—Disgrace of Belisarius.—Attack of the Bulgarians.—Government of Justinian.—Theodora.—Sedition at Constantinople.—*Laws of Justinian.*—Sources of Roman law at this epoch: Codes, Pandects, Institutes.—Novelle.

§ II. State of the empire at the death of Justinian.—Justin II., Tiberius II., and Maurice contend against the Persians and Avars.—Heraclius.—Period of reverses.—The Persians conquered.—The Avars exterminated.—New reverses.—Victories and conquests of the Mahometans.—Debasement of the empire under the descendants of Heraclius.

Long period of religious disputes after the rise of the Iconoclasts under Leo the Isaurian.—Tyranny of Constantine Copronymus.—Irene represses the Iconoclasts condemned by the Council of Nice.—*Schism of the Greek church.*—Photius named patriarch of Constantinople.—Schism confirmed by the patriarch Cerularius.—Wars against the Bulgarians, the Hungarians, the Petchenegui, the Russians.—Glorious reigns of Nicephoras Phocas, John Zimisces, and Basil II.—Accession of the Comneni.—Progress of the Seljuk Turks.—First crusade.

§ I.

WARS AGAINST THE PERSIANS.—JUSTINIAN : HIS LAWS.—  
BELISARIUS.

71. *State of the empire under Arcadius.*—The Empire of the East, which was destined to survive a thousand years the Empire of the West, whose fall it had hastened, had sustained itself, though with but little glory, in the midst of the general commotion.

The history of Arcadius is a history of ministerial intrigues and the disastrous results of the quarrels of the palace. *Rufinus*, jealous of the brave and skilful *Stilicho*, who governed the West ; jealous of the eunuch *Eutropius*, his rival in the favor of Arcadius, and who had placed the princess *Eudoxia* upon the throne, had just let loose the Barbarians upon the two empires when he perished by the hand of the *Gainas* (395), and perhaps at the instigation of *Stilicho*. The head of the odious minister who had publicly sold justice, even in the imperial palace, was carried through the streets of Constantinople on the end of a pike. His right hand, which had been cut off, accompanied the head. A stone had been put into his mouth, to keep it open ; and his lips seemed to ask the alms which the hand was held ready to receive : a popular satire of frightful energy against the exactions of power. *Eutropius*, the successor of his unfortunate rival, and more contemptible than he, was soon supplanted by *Gainas*, who himself perished by a popular revolt (401), while the feeble Arcadius abandoned his power to the empress *Eudoxia*, whose scandalous licentiousness *St. Chrysostom* dared to reprove, even upon the throne.

72. *Theodosius II. and his successors.*—*Religious disputes.*—*Foreign wars.*—Under Arcadius's son, *Theodosius*

II., or rather his sister *Pulcheria*, the empire enjoyed some internal tranquillity, if not splendor and power; and the formation of the Theodosian code rendered this reign for ever memorable (408–450). Upon the death of *Marcian*, a noble emperor who had dared to brave Attila (v. sequel), and who had been called to the throne by Pulcheria (450), the religious disputes excited by the Nestorians and Eutychians (v. ch. vi. § i.) were prolonged for half a century, notwithstanding the *edict of union* (481) published by the emperor *Zeno* (474–491), successor of Leo I. and Leo II. (457–474), and in spite of the dangerous wars in which the empire was engaged with Persia (502–505).

With the religious discussions were mingled civil troubles, the frivolous origin of which reveals the debasement of authority and the degradation of public manners. The drivers of the circus, distinguished by the colors of their liveries, formed two factions, the *blue* and the *green*, divided by a ferocious rivalry, in which the people, the nobles, and even the emperor himself took a part. The hippodrome, converted into a political arena, became the theatre of bloody conflicts and redoubtable seditions. *Anastasius the Silent* (491) tried to appease the discord by dismissing the turbulent Isaurian guard, forbidding the combats between men and wild beasts, and suppressing an odious tax fatal to industry. But his ridiculous pretensions to theological science served only to increase the progress of heresy and the discontent of the orthodox. Meanwhile the Arabs were ravaging Mesopotamia, the Bulgarians had invaded Thrace, and the Persians, who had entered Syria, compelled the cowardly emperor to buy a peace for ten thousand pounds of gold.

At last came *Justin I.*, a Thracian peasant, successively tribune, count, general, senator, captain of the guards, and emperor (518–527), and who, with all his vices and barbarity, restored peace to the church and empire, protected his

frontiers against the Persians and the Bulgarians, and prepared in this obscure period the illustrious reign of his nephew Justinian.

73. *Accession of Justinian.—Exploits of Belisarius against the Persians and Vandals.*—Justinian (527–565), in spite of his weakness of character, won a real glory by some great ideas, and still more by that fortunate combination of circumstances which gave him men of genius to execute his projects. To reconstruct the old Roman empire by wresting the western provinces from the Barbarians, and to establish its internal organization upon a surer basis by founding a complete and regular system of legislation, was the double end which Justinian proposed and attained.

A war with Persia, which had broken out under Justin, suspended for a while his enterprises against the west. Belisarius, whose name became so famous, began to make himself known by his exploits against King *Cabades*, whom he conquered at *Dara*, and compelled to evacuate the provinces which he had invaded (528); but the unskilful general who replaced him retreated before the Persians, and Justinian gladly bought a peace from Chosroes, Cabades's successor, at the price of eleven thousand pounds of gold.

Then all the strength of the empire was directed against the west, and Belisarius, with a fleet of six hundred sail and forty thousand men, was sent to reconquer Africa, where the Vandals, enervated by the softness of the climate, had lost their ancient vigor and courage. In 532, Belisarius landed in Africa to punish the usurpation of Gelimer, who had dethroned Hilderic, the ally of Justinian. The Vandal, defeated at Trecanium, gave himself up to the Romans after an obstinate defence, asking for a morsel of bread, of which he had not eaten for three months, a sponge to wash his wounds, and a lyre to sing his misfortunes. Carthage was soon taken, Sardinia and Corsica yielded to the conquerors, and Africa

was restored to the empire by a campaign of three months. Gelimer had lost his kingdom without uttering any other complaint than the words of Scripture, *Vanity of vanities—all is vanity*. Belisarius returned to Constantinople to triumph, after the manner of the old Romans (534). The sacred vases of the temple of Jerusalem, which had been sent to Rome by Titus and carried to Carthage by Genseric, were borne in procession before him. The Vandal chiefs followed with their king Gelimer, clad in a mantle of purple. The conqueror marched on foot at the head of his brave companions.

74. *Conquest of Italy.—Last expedition and disgrace of Belisarius.—Death of Justinian.*—It was then that Belisarius was sent against the Ostrogoths to avenge the death of Amalasuntha, and began the conquest of Italy, which was completed twenty years afterwards by the eunuch Narses (v. ch. ii. § i.). About the same time (552) the dissensions in the kingdom of the Visigoths in Spain restored to Justinian all the eastern part of the peninsula, which he took from the imprudent Athanagild, at whose call his armies had come (v. ch. ii. § ii.).

During this period Belisarius had returned against his first enemies, the Persians, who at the call of the Armenians had crossed the Euphrates and ravaged Syria (540): at the head of a shattered army, without provisions and without arms, the conqueror of Africa and Italy saved Jerusalem and Palestine, but could not reconquer Armenia. The ungrateful Justinian took from him his command and his dignities. Chosroes, freed from his most dangerous antagonist, continued the war, and in spite of the treachery of the king of Colchos, sold peace to the emperor and liberty of conscience to the Christians for a tribute of three thousand pieces of gold (562).

It was the destiny of Belisarius to end his noble career a prey to envy and hatred, but always ready to serve the prince

who had disgraced him. While the Avars were founding a powerful empire upon the banks of the Danube, the Bulgarians crossed it on the ice, and passed the wall which the emperor Anastasius had built as a barrier against the inroads of the Barbarians. A Greek army that was sent against them was beaten, and Justinian trembled in his capital. Belisarius, restored to power by the approach of danger, armed the citizens, collected all the horses of the hippodrome to form a cavalry, and drove the Bulgarians beyond the Danube. No sooner was the danger passed than the service was forgotten, and the hero, stripped of his possessions, was sent into exile. The saviour of the empire died in disgrace, and Justinian survived him but a few months (565).

75. *Justinian's administration.*—*Theodora.*—The internal administration of Justinian offers a singular mixture of grandeur and weakness, of noble enterprises and miserable intrigues. The arts, generously encouraged, combined to adorn the capital and the provinces with magnificent monuments. Amid twenty-five churches arose at Constantinople the church of St. Sophia, Justinian's pride, who exclaimed, while contemplating it—"Solomon, I have conquered you!" Bridges, aqueducts, and hospitals were built in the principal cities of the empire: a chain of eighty fortified towns was drawn from the confluence of the Save to the mouth of the Danube, to check the inroads of the Barbarians: fortresses were built or repaired on almost all the frontiers: Carthage and Antioch, destroyed by war and earthquakes, were repaired with magnificence.

But at the same time a courtesan, *Theodora*, daughter of the bear-keeper of the amphitheatre, whom the feeble emperor had married and raised to the throne, exhausted the resources of the empire by a pompous prodigality, and ministers enriched themselves by falsifying the imperial constitutions for money. Belisarius was indebted in a great degree for

his good fortune to the influence of his wife Antonia, the despicable accomplice of the licentiousness of Theodora. The emperor, himself a passionate lover of the games of the circus, took a part in the disputes of the coachmen, and seemed to encourage the disorders to which he was near falling a victim. A sedition, which began in the hippodrome, threw Constantinople into confusion for five days: the terrified Justinian, upon the point of seeking safety in flight, was saved by the courage of Theodora: "You may fly," said she, "if you choose; as for me, I know of no tomb more glorious than a throne." Justinian took courage, and the sedition was quelled by the massacre of thirty thousand of his subjects.

76. *Justinian's legislation.*—The only indisputable glory of Justinian is his legislation. The science of law, which had been assiduously cultivated for centuries by the ablest lawyers that ever lived, had become almost inaccessible by the immensity of its domain. The laws of the Twelve Tables, that ancient groundwork of Roman legislation, were regarded as a respected tradition, foreign to the wants of a new society. At the side of this *civil law*, the *edicts* of the prætors, following the march of civilization and constantly modified by jurisprudence, had aimed at harmonizing laws and customs; while the interpretations of the *learned* deduced, with an admirable logic, the practical consequences of the philosophical principles of law, and were deservedly ranked among the most fruitful sources of legislation. And in fine, the emperors having concentrated the legislative power in their own persons, had multiplied constitutions, edicts, and decrees, according to the wants of their administration.

To form a connected whole of these different materials; to separate from a crowd of provisions which custom had rejected, the laws which accorded with the spirit of the age; to mark out sure and easy paths in this labyrinth where the most skilful became bewildered, was the conception which

has immortalized the name of Justinian. The *Gregorian* and *Hermogenian* codes, which contained the constitutions of the pagan emperors, and the code of *Theodosius II.*, which contained the laws of the Christian emperors, had scarcely begun this great work. Justinian had the boldness to undertake, and the glory of accomplishing it. There are marks of haste here and there, and imperfections, which betray the impatience of the imperial legislator; but it still remains and ever will remain the noblest monument of the empire. The most skilful jurists were set to the task, under the direction of the quaestor *Tribonian*. In 528 appeared the *Code*, a collection of the imperial constitutions, in twelve books, which a few years afterwards was thoroughly revised; in 533, the *Pandects* or *Digest*, a vast compilation, in which all the different schools of jurisprudence were united, compared, or reconciled, and the *Institutes*, an elementary work, containing a lucid and methodical exposition of the principles of the science, for the use of schools. The laws published by Justinian himself during the last thirty years of his reign, were collected in the *Novelle*, which was enlarged by the constitutions of his successors. All of these laws tended to efface the last vestiges of the original republican organization, and to consecrate the principle of the absolute sovereignty of the emperor.

## § II.

### HERACLIUS AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

77. *State of the empire at the death of Justinian.*—At the moment of Justinian's death, the empire of the East was at the highest point of its power; a power which unfortunately was more apparent than real. In the east, Justinian, although



compelled to buy peace of the king of Persia, had re-established the ancient limits of the empire. In the west he had been compelled to leave in the hands of the Barbarians Great Britain, which the Romans had abandoned in the reign of Honorius, Gaul, which had fallen into the hands of the Franks, and the greater part of Spain, which had been occupied by the Visigoths: but still he had recovered Italy, Africa, and the eastern coasts of Spain, and Rome had once more become the second capital of the empire. But this sudden reunion of states which had been separated so long, lasts but a few years. The Lombards draw near the frontiers of Italy, which they are soon to invade: the Bulgarians have stationed themselves within reach of Constantinople: the Avars, who had followed the track of the Huns from Asia, establish themselves in Dacia, where the Goths had once settled. The Persians menace the eastern frontier, and the day is not far off when the Mahometan invasion will separate all the eastern provinces from the empire for ever.

78. *Justin II.—Tiberius II.—Maurice.*—It was under the reign of Justinian's successor, Justin II. (565–578), that Italy passed under the dominion of the Lombards, without an effort on the part of the Eastern empire to defend a territory which had cost her so much treasure and blood (v. ch. i. § i.). Tiberius II., assailed by the old Chosroes, sent against him the brave and skilful *Maurice*, who drove the Persians back to Assyria. The great king died with grief for his defeat; but at the same time Tiberius had been compelled to buy the retreat of the Avars. Maurice, called to the throne after the death of Tiberius (582–602), was attacked at the same time by the Avars, who advanced to the walls of Constantinople, and the Persians, whom Barham, a revolted satrap, had armed against the empire. Maurice, protector of Chosroes's heir, defeated the rebels, and disposed, with the authority of a master, of the sceptre of the Sassanides. The Avars were

crushed in five battles ; but the centurion *Phocas* raised a revolt in the army, assassinated Maurice, and seized upon the crown (602). Immediately Chosroes II., who owed his sceptre to Maurice, declared war against the usurper, and under pretext of avenging his benefactor, invaded the provinces of the empire.

79. *Heraclius.—Period of reverses.*—Constantinople was hard pressed by the Barbarians on the south and on the north, when Heraclius, son of the governor of Africa (610), ascended the throne, after having overthrown Phocas, who had polluted it during seven years by his cruelty and his licentiousness. Chosroes overran Syria, sacking Damascus, Antioch, and Jerusalem, and putting to death those who refused to trample upon the cross and adore the sun, while his lieutenant Sain traversed Egypt as a conqueror, and returned with frightful rapidity to Asia Minor, to establish his garrisons even in the city of Chalcedonia. Heraclius sued for peace: Chosroes replied by having the valiant Sain, who had seemed to listen favorably to the emperor's proposals, flayed alive, and marching on the capital (616). At the same time the Avars, excited by the Persians, resumed their arms, and appeared again under the walls of Constantinople (618). Heraclius, reduced to extremity, resolved to fly to Carthage ; but the patriarch retained him by his remonstrances, and the clergy contributed their wealth for the defence of the empire.

80. *Period of success, followed by new reverses.*—The period of reverses was past, and that of wonderful success began. Heraclius bought off the Avars and turned all his strength against the Persians. By a bold manœuvre he suddenly removed the seat of war to the extremity of Cilicia, and Chosroes, taken by surprise, retreated beyond the frontiers, twice defeated in his retreat, once at *Issus*, and once at *Mossoul*. The Avars, excited once more by the Persians, were nearly exterminated by the patrician Bonosius, and

raclius reconquered Armenia and Syria, with the aid of the Khazar Turks, a tribe in alliance with the empire. Siroës, Chosroës's successor, begged for peace, and could only obtain it by restoring the conquered countries, the Roman eagles, and the *true cross*, which his father had taken from the Greeks (628).

For a long time Persia will not attack the empire: but more redoubtable enemies have arisen on the south. Mahomet has let loose upon the world the wandering tribes of Arabia, with the Koran in one hand and the sword in the other (v. ch. vii. § iii.). The eastern provinces of the empire are invaded first; and Heraclius, who had slumbered too long in a fatal security, soon sees a great battle decide the conquest of Syria and of Egypt.

81. *Degradation of the empire under the descendants of Heraclius.*—The limits of the empire no longer reached beyond Asia Minor. Heraclius, fallen from his glory, died (641) without having avenged his defeats, and left the throne to a long series of princes whose names polluted the annals of the degraded empire. He had just seen the Visigoths of Spain wrest from his dominion a portion of the conquests of Justinian.

The family of Heraclius becomes extinct after half a century of crimes and infamy (641–711), during which ten princes contend for the bloody sceptre, and leave the frontiers open to every attack of the Barbarians. It is the prelude of a period no less deplorable, in which the empire contends for four hundred years against the repeated attacks of Barbarians and internal dissensions fomented by religious disputes, fruit of the restless subtlety of the Greek mind in its decay.

82. *The Iconoclasts.—Religious quarrels under Leo the Isaurian and his successors.*—From 717 to 780, the throne was occupied by three sovereigns of the Isaurian race, Leo

III., Constantine Copronymus (741), and Leo IV. (775-780), his son. The worship of images, which formed a fruitful source of gain for the monks and clergy, had taken deep root among the people; favored too, perhaps, by the abundance of works of art and an exhaustless store of relics. Leo the Isaurian opposed this corruption with all the vehemence of his character, and the persecution into which he allowed his passion to carry him, won for him and for his successors, who unfortunately imitated him in his violence, the name of Iconoclasts, or breakers of images. In Italy, the authority of the pope was opposed to that of the emperor, and the Romans, rising against the imperial prefect, proclaimed the republic and placed the pope at its head. Leo III. defended Constantinople against the Saracens, and his successor fought bravely at the head of his troops upon the banks of the Euphrates and of the Danube. But their names have been branded in Catholic annals as heretics and tyrants. Leo IV., less energetic as a prince, but no less violent in his opposition to the worship of images, fell a victim to his own zeal and the vengeance of his wife, the infamous Irene. One of the first acts of Irene, who reigned as guardian of her son, was to re-establish the worship of images, and have it confirmed by a council which she assembled at Nice (787). Her zeal was rewarded by the approbation of the church, and though suspected of the murder of her husband, and acknowledged to have had her son put to death under circumstances of revolting cruelty, she has been canonized in the East as a saint. But the period was approaching in which a schism more fatal than that of the Iconoclasts was to deprive the Catholic church of a large portion of its ancient inheritance.

83. *Schism of the Greek church.*—The imperial throne was filled by *Michel the Drunkard* (842-867), who boasted that he had taken Nero for his model, and who refused to

listen to the messenger who brought him tidings of an invasion at the most critical moment of a race. To free himself from all opposition, he shut up his mother *Theodora* in a convent, and removed the patriarch *Ignatius* to make room for *Photius*, the captain of his guards. Photius was a man of profound learning, but his election, though approved by a cabal, was condemned by the pope (Nicholas I.), who fulminated an excommunication against him (859). Photius replied by citing the acts of a council in which the pope himself had been excommunicated, and disputing the authority of the See of Rome over the Bulgarians, who had just been converted to Christianity.

The accession of *Basil the Macedonian* (867), and the convocation of the eighth œcumenic council, disturbed for a moment the triumph of Photius, who was compelled to give way to Ignatius. The empire enjoyed a moment of repose, and the emperor consecrated a few peaceful years to a reform of the financial system, and adapting the laws of Justinian to the wants of the epoch. The collection of the numerous compilations of Justinian, translated into Greek and methodically arranged, has immortalized the name of Basil. Still this prince prepared the way for new dissensions. Upon the death of the patriarch, Photius succeeded in regaining the imperial favor and the See of Constantinople (879).

The schism was not yet complete. Under *Leo the Philosopher* Photius was removed and condemned to lose his eyes. But the division between the two churches had widened during these miserable quarrels, and in 1054 the papal legates withdrew from Constantinople, leaving the Greek church to its own doctrines and its own rulers.

84. *Contests with the Bulgarians, the Sclavonians, the Franks, &c.*—Meanwhile the empire had sustained a wearisome contest against enemies which seemed to multiply as its powers of resistance decreased. The Bulgarians, converted

to Christianity (about 861), had discontinued their ravages : but they demanded, sword in hand, posts and factories for their rising commerce, and irritated by the annoyances to which their merchants were exposed from the imperial officers, advanced several times to the walls of Constantinople (888-923). The Sclavonians, who were established in Illyria, menaced Macedonia. The Petchenegui and the fierce Hungarians, descending from the shores of the Baltic, advanced along the banks of the North Sea and the Danube, compelling both the Bulgarians and Greeks to pay tribute (924). The Khazar Turks remained faithful to their old alliance ; but the Russians, who had shaken off the yoke, sent their ships to the Bosphorus (865), burnt the faubourgs of Constantinople (904), and forced Leo the Philosopher to promise a tribute, which his successors still continued to pay forty years after. And finally, the Saracens of Africa, masters of Sicily, Sardinia, and Crete (v. ch. vii.), ravaged the coasts of Greece, and the progress of the Arabs in Asia Minor was only checked by the decay of the caliphate.

85. *Glorious reigns of Phocas and Zimisces.—Basil II.—Accession of the Comneni.*—In the midst of these obscure contests, which generally terminated in the submission of the emperors, three men, Nicephoras Phocas, John Zimisces, and Basil II., are entitled to an honorable mention in history. *Phocas*, called to the empire by the choice of the soldiers (963), forces back the Bulgarians on the north, drives the pirates from the island of Crete, retakes Cyprus, and subdues Cilicia. His successor, *John Zimisces* (969-976), for a long time the companion of his victories, crosses Syria, makes the caliph of Bagdad tremble in his capital, and returns in triumph to Constantinople. Basil II. (976-1025), formed in the school of these two great men, crushes, after twenty-five campaigns, the nation of the Bulgarians (1019), and destroys

the kingdom of the Khazars, who had joined the enemies of the empire.

But the transient splendor of these three reigns is eclipsed after the death of Basil. *Romanus Argyrus* (1028-1034) atones for some slight success against the Arabs by a bloody defeat (v. ch. ii.). After him two corrupt women, *Zoe* and *Theodora*, prostituted the purple to unworthy favorites, and the race of Basil the Macedonian was extinguished in infamy.

A new family ascends the throne with *Isaac Comnenes* (1056), whose nephew Alexis (1081), raised to the empire after long years of internal dissension and reverses in Asia, where the Seljuk Turks had subdued both the provinces of the caliphate and of the empire (v. ch. vii. § viii.), invokes in his distress the succor of the West, and excites the first crusade.

## CHAPTER VI.

### CHURCH.—LETTERS AND ARTS.

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#### SUMMARY.

§ I. State of the church at the moment of the great invasion of the empire and among the Barbarians.—The Catholics persecuted by the Arians among the Visigoths.—Euric.—Amalaric.—Oppression of the Catholics in the kingdom of the Vandals.—Conversion of the Suevi; of the Visigoths; of the Lombards.—Conversion of the Franks under Clovis; of the Burgundians.—Conversion of Ireland.—*The monk St. Augustin sent by Pope Gregory the Great to the Anglo-Saxons.*—Ethelbert, king of Kent, embraces Christianity.—Conversion of the whole of Great Britain.—Irish and Anglo-Saxon missionaries among the Germans.—St. Wilfred and St. Wilbrod.—Apostolic labors and martyrdom of St. Boniface.

Christianity in the East.—Persecution in Persia.—Progress of Nestorianism.—The missionary Olopen founds a Christian establishment in China.—Decay of the heretical and schismatic churches in the East.—Paganism still subsists in the schools of philosophy and in the country.

Heresies from the fourth to the eighth century.—Error of Nestorius.—Heresy of Eutyches.—Pelagianism and Semi-Pelagianism.—Schism of the Donatists.—Iconoclasts.

Councils of Ephesus, of Constantinople, of Chalcedonia, of Carthage, of Nice.

Beginning of monastic and cenobitic life in the East and West.—St. Paul the hermit; St. Anthony.—St. Martin of Tours.—History of St. Benedict of Nursia: foundation of the order of Benedictines.—Their rule; utility of monasteries.





the empire, and endeavors to secure the conversion of the Barbarians.

But still Christianity, at the epoch of the great invasion, had made but little progress in the rural districts, where the old superstitions still prevailed to such an extent that pagan and peasant were synonymous terms (*pagani*). Even in the most enlightened cities, many enemies of the Christian religion were still united under the banners of philosophical polytheism. The schools of Athens and Alexandria counted numerous disciples; and in the old capital of the empire men had not yet ceased to invoke those religious remembrances which recalled their former glory, and the Senate still demanded the statue of victory.

But the Gospel had already penetrated beyond the frontiers of the empire, further than the Roman eagle. The Negus of Abyssinia had just been converted with his whole people by the preaching of St. Frumentius, and Christianity had survived forty years of persecution in the remotest provinces of the Persian empire. In the west, the Goths had been converted, the Burgundians, the Suevi, the Vandals, the Lombards had received the Gospel before they invaded the empire. But unfortunately they had adopted the doctrines of Arius, and with them a bitter hostility for those of the Catholics, with whom their adventurous life soon brought them in contact.

87. *Persecutions of the Catholics among the Visigoths and the Vandals.*—Euric, king of the Visigoths and an ardent Arian, attacked with inveterate hostility the doctrines of the council of Nice. "Under his reign," says Sidonius Apollinarius, "the churches fell to ruins, the doors were torn off, the entrance of the holy place was closed only by brambles and thorns: wild beasts made their dwelling in the sanctuary, and cattle fed upon the grass that grew around the altar." The bishops who had escaped exile were not replaced at their

death, and the priesthood died with them. Amalaric persecuted Catholicism even in his wife, a daughter of Clovis; and the unhappy princess, unable to support the violence of her husband any longer, called on her brothers to avenge her. After a few years of calm, Leovegild signalized his hatred against the Catholic religion by the execution of his own son who had abjured Arianism, and driving from their sees the bishops who had adhered to the doctrines of Nice.

The Catholics of the African church, which but a little while before had been so flourishing, might fancy that the days of the cruelest of the emperors had returned again. Genseric had begun the persecution by sending his soldiers to break up the assemblies of the Catholics by blows. Under his son Huneric, more than forty thousand Catholics were put to death in less than two years, and a great many had their hands and their tongues cut off. St. Eugenius, bishop of Carthage, having refused to close the churches, the king placed guards at the door, armed with iron hooks, with which they tore off the skin and hair of those who came to attend divine worship. These fanatical cruelties, as well as the ravages which had marked their entrance into the empire, made the name of the Vandals a term of reproach. But persecution served, as it always does, to hasten the propagation of truth. A Moorish tribe of the interior of Africa was converted by four exiles, whom the Vandals punished for the success of their preaching, by crushing them under the wheels of a chariot.

Wherever the Catholics obtained the supremacy, they were as intolerant and almost as bitter as their opponents. The rights of the mind were unknown, and centuries were yet to pass before men could be taught that individual responsibility implies freedom of conscience.

88. *Conversion of the Suevi, the Visigoths, the Lombards, and the Franks.*—Arianism maintained the supremacy in

Africa till the conquest of Belisarius, and among the Heruli and Ostrogoths during the whole duration of their dominion. Most of the other Germans were converted to Catholicism during the second half of the sixth century. In 551, Cariaric, king of the Suevi, having heard during the illness of his son Theodoric of the miracles of St. Martin, made a vow that he would adopt the doctrines of this saint, if his son was restored to health. The young prince recovered, and the king not doubting but what it was all owing to the miraculous intercession of the saint, became a Catholic with all his people (560). The Visigoths soon followed the example of the Suevi, whom they had just subdued; and under Recarede the Catholic, brother of a martyr, the council of Toledo solemnly consecrated the return of all Spain to the Catholic faith (589). A few years afterwards, the Lombards, who had in the beginning displayed great rigor against the Catholics, yielded, with their king Agilulphus, to the mild influence of the pious Theodelinda. But still their faith long retained traces of their heresy and even of paganism.

It was only with the invasion that Christianity penetrated among the Franks, the Scots, the Angles, and the Saxons. The Franks, who were converted with Clovis at the battle of Tolbiac, became at the same time Christians and orthodox (497). Clovis and his sons, conquerors of the Arian Burgundians, compelled them to renounce their heresy, which was soon to disappear from Gaul.

89. *Conversion of Ireland.*—The most remarkable conversion was, perhaps, that of the Britannic Isles. The Anglo-Saxons carried with them from Germany all the ferocity of the worship of Odin, and proscribed Christianity, which had already taken root in Great Britain. But they could not prevent *St. Patrick*, who had been prisoner in the land during his youth, from returning there as a missionary, by order of Pope Celestin (432), and preaching the gospel to the savage

inhabitants. At his death (about 465), several bishoprics, convents, and seminaries were already founded in Ireland, which soon, as the *Island of Saints*, was to send forth ardent apostles of the faith. From the sixth century this island was the country which contained the greatest number of pious establishments and the most zealous religious corporations. There were no better schools in the west than those of the convents of Ireland; that, for example, of St. Finian, founded in 530, and that of Lismore, which St. Cataldus established in 640. While the west of Europe was given up a prey to pillage and suffering, this island, defended by the sea, offered a sure asylum to the friends of science and monastic life. The strangers who emigrated not only from England but from the continent, received from the Irish an eager and gratuitous hospitality, and were provided with all the means of instruction. And on the other hand, the pious inhabitants, learned for their age, went upon distant missions to found or reform convents, and became the civilizers of most of the countries of Europe.

90. *Conversion of the Scotch and Anglo-Saxons.*—*The monk Augustin.*—It was an Irishman, St. Coloman, that preached the gospel to the Scotch of the north, and founded numerous churches among them (563–597): a British bishop by the name of *Ninian* had already carried it to the Scots of the south. The conversion of the Anglo-Saxons was the work of Pope St. Gregory the Great, as that of the Irish had been of Pope Celestin. Gregory being struck with the fine appearance of some Saxon slaves in the market at Rome, conceived the design of converting their nation to Christianity, and shortly after his accession to the pontificate dispatched *Augustin*, a monk, with forty companions, to carry the gospel into England. Augustin landed in the isle of Thanet, and sent word to Ethelbert, king of Kent, that he was come from a distant country to bring him the promise of eternal happi-

ness and a kingdom without end, if he would accept his doctrines. The king's wife was a Christian, and the king was easily persuaded to listen to the missionaries; but he would not receive them any where but in the open air, for fear of enchantment. He listened to them with a favorable ear, and soon after was baptized, moved by the purity of their lives and the ardor of their zeal (596). Augustin chose Canterbury for the metropolis of the English church. The conversion of the island was soon completed, and all the kings and people of the heptarchy received the Catholic faith.

91. *Catholic missions in Germany.—St. Boniface.*—This church, founded directly by the Holy See, was more strongly attached to the preservation of Catholic unity. It was from Rome that the apostles of Germany set out, during the seventh and eighth centuries, upon their perilous mission. St. Rupert had already founded there the see of Salzburch (about 618); and some Irishmen, St. Colomban, St. Gall, and St. Kilian, had preached the word of God upon the banks of the Rhine, when the Anglo-Saxons, Wilfred, Wilbrod, and Winfred, completed this evangelical task under the auspices of the Heristals. St. Wilfred and St. Wilbrod were the apostles of the savage fishermen of Frisia and Holland (690–738): Winfred, better known under the name of *St. Boniface*, which recalls all his good deeds, succeeded St. Wilbrod, of whom he had shared the ministry and profited by the lessons. Boniface converted the Thuringians and Hessians, living among them by the work of his hands, and sharing their poverty and toil. The deepest rooted superstitions yielded to his courage. At Geissmar, in Hesse, there was a sacred tree which all the people venerated. Boniface took in his own hands an axe to cut it down, while the pagans gathering around him expected to see flames from heaven fall upon his sacrilegious head. The tree fell, and the Hessians were converted. The churches which St. Boniface founded became a centre of

re-union for the inhabitants who had been scattered over the country. Villages and cities were formed, and in old German the same word was used for *mass* and *assembly*. The pope, filled with admiration at the prodigies accomplished by Boniface, gave him the direction of the rising church of Bavaria, and made him bishop of Mayence. But the indefatigable old man soon resigned his dignity to return to the dangers of his mission. The crown of martyrdom awaited him in Frisia, where he was massacred with his companions, after having converted several thousand idolaters (755).

92. *Christianity in the East.—Persecutions in Persia.—Nestorian missions.*—In the East, these apostolic labors, favored by the zeal of the emperors of Constantinople, gradually spread the reign of Christianity beyond the frontiers of the empire. In the fourth century Armenia, the Caucasian provinces, and a great part of Arabia and Persia, were converted to Christianity. But Sapor II., king of Persia, accusing the Christians of the western provinces of preferring the dominion of the Greek empire to his, gave the signal of a frightful persecution, which lasted more than a century (330–450). Unheard of punishments were invented to shake the constancy of believers. Martyrs were thrown, with their feet and hands tied, into ditches filled with rats and mice, who ate them alive. All the east admired the firmness of St. James, whose limbs were all torn off, one after the other. Still it was not from persecution that the greatest danger came: the progress of the church was checked by the development of the famous heresy of Nestorius.

A priest of Edessa persuaded the king of Persia, that as long as his subjects had the same symbol with the Greeks they could never be sincerely devoted to him, while Nestorianism would raise an insurmountable barrier between the two people. Yielding to these insinuations, the king lent all his influence to the Nestorians, who, not contented with estab-

lishing themselves in Persia, tried to propagate their doctrines in other countries. But their efforts were vain, in spite of the ardor of the new sectaries, and especially of the missionary *Olopen*, who travelled through Asia and penetrated into China about the year 635. The emperor had the books which Olopen brought with him examined; declared that the doctrine was good, and allowed it to be spread in his states. A church served by twenty-one priests was built in the capital of the Chinese empire, and Olopen's successors continued without obstacle the work which they had so intrepidly begun. But whatever may be the cause, their doctrines made but little progress, and their church soon fell to decay.

93. *Last vestiges of idolatry in the schools of philosophy and in the country.*—Idolatry, though conquered, still found an asylum during the fifth and sixth centuries among some wits, full of the poetical traditions of mythology, and in the schools of philosophy, the last of which was not closed till the reign of Justinian. But it was still more under the shelter of ignorance that it defended the wrecks of its empire. At the end of the sixth century Pope St. Gregory wrote to the king of Austrasia, Theodebert, to induce him to abolish the superstitious customs of some inhabitants of the country, who still worshipped idols, adored sacred trees in the depths of forests, and sacrificed animals upon the altars of demons. The same pope had not been able to do away with the last vestiges of idolatry in the vicinity of Rome. In 586 a marble dragon, clad in skins, was still worshipped in the duchy of Beneventum, and the duke of Spoleto made open profession of idolatry. In the same country the council of Rheims condemned to public penance those who had taken auguries or eaten with pagans meats offered to false gods. A great number of superstitions wholly pagan were still to survive a long time, and to be perpetuated through the middle ages in spite of the sovereign influence of Christianity. Long ages



and the divine force of the gospel were required to extirpate usages which had been deeply rooted by four thousand years of error.

94. *Heresies from the fourth to the eighth century.*—This period was fertile in religious disputes, which Rome condemned as heresies, and which were closely connected with the political revolutions. Arianism was a cause of bitter hatred between the Visigoths and the Franks, the Lombards and the Italians; and the rapid reverses and sudden success of the empire in the east were owing as much to the disputes about the doctrines of Nestorius as to the arms of the hostile monarchs. *Nestorius*, patriarch of Constantinople, refused to acknowledge the Virgin as mother of God. Oriental subtlety seized eagerly upon this pretext, and a large sect was soon formed, which spread beyond the borders of the empire, and took root in Persia (431) and Egypt, and throughout all the east. *Eutyches* asserted that there was but one nature in Christ (monophysites), and had his doctrines approved by the council of Ephesus, which the Catholics consequently stigmatized as a conventicle.

In the west a British monk by the name of *Pelagius* (410) denied the dogma of original sin and the necessity of grace; asserting that man could live without sin, and win salvation by his own virtue. This doctrine spread in Gaul, Great Britain, the east, and Africa, where it yielded to the eloquent voice of St. Augustin, or was reduced to the more timid form of *Semi-Pelagianism*.

No one can deny that the Arian controversy was one of deep importance, and touched the most vital questions of Christianity. But Africa was divided by a dispute which we can hardly understand. Two competitors claimed the archbishopric of Carthage, *Donatus* and *Cecilius*. Constantine, after a long examination (312–315), decided in favor of *Cecilius*. Four hundred bishops appealed against his decision,

and a party was formed under the name of Donatists, which maintained the claims of Donatus with furious zeal, condemning their opponents to eternal perdition, and fancying that to die in such a cause was to win the crown of martyrdom. Africa was devastated for three centuries by the ravages of these madmen, and the history of the Circumcellions, by which name they were finally distinguished, is one of the most singular pages in this singular period.

95. To all these enemies the church opposed the powerful arm of her general councils. The councils of Ephesus (431) and Constantinople (553) condemned Nestorianism: the heresy of Eutyches was anathematized at Chalcedonia (551). A council of Carthage condemned the doctrines of Pelagius on their first appearance (412), and the second council of Nice (787) gave the final blow to the iconoclasts, by re-establishing the honorary worship of images. But the decrees of this council met a severe opposition in the west, where popular feeling had fixed upon bones and relics as objects of veneration, instead of statues and paintings, which were neither as abundant there as in the east nor so much esteemed. The council of Frankfort rejected the decrees of the council of Nice, and were supported by the authority of Charlemagne, who dictated the Carolinian books against the worship of images. The pope was sorely puzzled to reconcile the contradictory decision of the two infallible councils; but the protection of Charlemagne was not a thing to be lightly thrown away, and by quibbles, and hair-splitting, and ingenious explanations, the two synods were made to stand peacefully together as equal expressions of the will of the supreme church.

96. *Beginnings of monastic life in the east and west.*—Christian ascetics and hermits had already been known from the end of the second century. They were mostly Syrians and Egyptians, men whose temperaments and manners led

them to the wildest acts of self-denial, and who perhaps thought that in a period of persecution, they could do nothing better than to renounce human society altogether, and pass their lives in deserts. Man, whose natural development is hastened by the alternation of society and solitude, becomes a wild beast in the desert, and these holy men seem to have hastened the transformation, by taking the devil with them for a companion, tormenting themselves by a thousand imaginary terrors, till they came to believe that their great adversary was ever present, and ever lying in wait for them in some new and dangerous form. St. Anthony was the first (305) to give something of a more human cast to this sad form of piety, by reducing their religious exercises to definite rules, and making them live either together, or at least near enough to assist one another in their physical as well as in their spiritual wants. Pacomius, another Egyptian (340), built convents for the ascetics to live in together, and established a rule for them to live by. Religious instruction and self-support were their chief occupations. A very little work was sufficient to provide for all their physical wants, and fasting, which is much easier to bear in Egypt and Syria than in Europe, was one of their chief religious exercises. Their number increased so rapidly that over fifty thousand, between monks and nuns, were soon found in Egypt alone. A single residence often contained several thousand, and there was hardly a man eminent for piety, or a bishop of high standing to be found, who had not received his first instructions from these ascetics and lived some time among them. As yet they were not bound by any irrevocable vow, either to a particular convent or a particular rule. Their mode of life was far more rigorous than that of the monks who rose after them in the west, but their real liberty was far greater. Egypt, Syria, and Pontus were the countries in which they flourished most. Even in Asia Minor they met

with little approbation, and still less in Europe. The colder climates of Italy and France were less suited to such a form of fanaticism, Syro-Egyptian diet less acceptable, and the population itself too equally spread to leave room for those savage solitudes in which they delighted most.

The oldest community of Cenobites in the west was established in Gaul by St. Martin of Tours (about 370). In the fifth century St. Honoratus and St. Cassian founded the monasteries of Lerins and Marseilles (405-408), which became the asylums of science and the nurseries of the apostles of that barbarous age. That of Lerina became especially famous by its schools, and gave rise to the order of monks of St. Claude, who reduced the valleys of the Jura to cultivation.

97. *Foundation of the order of Benedictines.*—Towards the end of the fifth century, St. Benedict of Nursia in Tuscany, shocked at the corruption of the young men of Rome, abandoned a rich and illustrious family to take refuge in a cave in the midst of the mountains. He was soon joined by a few solitaries, and they supported themselves by clearing and cultivating the surrounding country. The progress of the pious colony alarmed the last defenders of paganism, and Benedict, driven from his retreat, established himself with his companions on Mount Cassino, where the peasants of the neighborhood still came to offer sacrifice in an ancient temple of Apollo. Benedict broke the idol and converted its ignorant worshippers. With the aid of these new Christians he built a vast monastery on the site of the temple, and this was the origin of the celebrated order of Benedictines.

The rule of St. Benedict was approved by Gregory the Great in 595, and became the common law of all the convents of the west. It divided the life of the cloister between labor and prayer. After having passed a part of the day in clearing the wastes, in draining marshes, and fertilizing the

land, the Benedictines returned to their cells to study holy books or copy ancient manuscripts. While the Barbarians were laying waste all the provinces of the empire, the convents, protected by their sacred character, were preserving for better days the precious remains of antiquity. It is to the Benedictines that France owes those historical collections from which modern science has drawn its richest treasures. "It was a consolation," says Voltaire, in speaking of the order of St. Benedict, "that there were asylums like these in which men could escape from the oppression of the Goths and Vandals, and find refuge in the repose of the cloister from tyranny and war. What little knowledge was left was preserved in the convents; and some useful inventions came from them. Moreover, these men tilled the ground, sang the praises of God, lived soberly, practised hospitality, and by their examples may have mitigated somewhat of the ferocity of this barbarous age."

The good done by these institutions naturally awakened the gratitude of the faithful; and their revenues were increased by numberless donations, as well as by the establishment of tithes, voluntary at first, but soon prescribed by law. But this increase of wealth brought with it the seeds of grave abuses, which increasing from age to age, imposed at last the necessity of important reforms.

## § II.

### SUMMARY VIEW OF LETTERS AND THE ARTS TILL CHARLEMAGNE.

98. *Fall of the pagan school of Alexandria.*—Literature, whose destinies are connected with all the great political and religious revolutions of the world, followed it in the fourth

century in the adoption of Christianity. Pagan philosophy, already driven from Rome by Constantine, and restored for a moment by Julian, was rapidly sinking, in spite of the efforts of its last advocates. The school of new Platonists or eclectics of Alexandria, which Constantine had closed and Julian re-opened, was shaken again by Theodosius. At the beginning of the fifth century the new Platonists removed to Athens, where their lessons preserved somewhat of their early brilliancy. But in 529 their schools were finally closed by order of Justinian. These men who attempted to oppose Christianity by the systems of Plato and the secret sciences of the east, were not wanting in learning. The eclecticism of Alexandria found a brilliant interpreter in the beautiful *Hypatia* (d. 415), daughter of the mathematician Theon, and in the learned *Proclus* (d. 487), philosopher, astronomer, geometrician, and poet. But the principle of life was wanting in their doctrines, and when they fell, it was rather by the strength of public opinion than by the imperial decrees.

99. *Pagan literature—poetry, history, &c.*—Profane poetry, which vainly endeavors to revive the superannuated fables of polytheism, is but a colorless imitation of the ancients. *Claudian* alone (5th cent.), who is distinguished by the elevation of his thoughts and his graceful descriptions, sang the hero of his age in verses which are still admired, although his style runs too often into declamation, and his rhythm is too monotonous. The Gaul *Rutilius Numantianus* (420), a frivolous and scoffing spirit, narrates in a trifling style his *traveller's impressions*, or aims an epigram at Christianity, which he derides as a transient folly. If he seems to accept paganism, it is only to repress the new doctrines whose decline he boldly predicts. After him pagan literature offers scarcely any thing worthy of remembrance. One poet undertakes a continuation of Homer, and completes in the *Posthomerides* the narrative of the Trojan war. Another, jealous of this

happy thought, relates in the *Antehomerides* the events which preceded it, and produces a prologue to the *Iliad*.

History is cultivated with better success. *Zoximus* (5th cent.) gives a clear and rapid sketch of the decline of the empire to the fifth century, and is cited with confidence in spite of his declamations against Christianity. *Priscus* (5th cent.) composed a *Byzantine* history, of which, unfortunately, nothing but a fragment has reached us. *Procopius* (died 565), the companion and historian of Belisarius, narrates with warmth and skill the exploits of this great man, and compelled to flatter Justinian in an official work, avenges himself in his memoirs, in which he lays bare the vice and corruption of the emperor's court.

About 422 *Macrobius*, a grammarian and philosopher, writes a work of curious erudition under the title of *Saturnalia*. And now too appears a new form in literature, the *romance*, for which so brilliant a part is reserved in the middle ages. We will mention only *Æthiopica*, or the loves of *Theagenes and Chariclea*, which Racine admired so much, and which *Heliodorus*, a bishop who lived towards the end of the fourth century, had written before his conversion; and the *Daphne and Chloe* of *Longus* (5th cent.), a pastoral, more remarkable for the grace than the delicacy of its descriptions. These works are written in Greek, and the rigid morality of the *Æthiopica* forms a striking contrast to the loose and voluptuous tone of the other works of this class.

It is to paganism also that belong *Hesychius*, *Philemones*, *Stobæus*, and the other grammarians of that school of Alexandria which attempted to oppose, by rules and definitions, the increasing corruption of language, and which first invented accents and punctuation to help the slothful intellects of the new inhabitants of the empire.

100. *Christian literature.—Apologists.—Christian schools.*  
—At the side of these works, which with a few exceptions

were so meagre and feeble, a new literature is developed under the influence of the sublime ideas of Christianity. The literary genius of Christianity appears in full vigor in the writings of the apologists, men holy and learned—as ardent in deed as in word. Their style, although affected by the bad taste of the age, is sustained by grandeur of thought and depth of conviction, and under the influence of an eloquence which seems almost to partake of inspiration, we lose sight of mere defects of form.

We have already mentioned, in speaking of the persecutions of the church, several men illustrious for their talents and learning. And no sooner does the first dawn of peace give room for long study and profound meditation, than crowds of noble geniuses appear, the lights and the glory of the church.

The Christians had begun early to oppose the schools of the pagans by schools of their own, in which the sciences and literature were taught by the faithful. From this crowd of Christian teachers who shone in the fourth century, we will cite only a few of the most eminent. *Lactantius* (about 300) taught a pagan school in his youth, and having embraced Christianity, continued his lessons in literature, after the example of *Origen*. His eloquence and his numerous writings, which had procured him the honor of teaching the son of Constantine, won him the surname of the *Cicero of Christianity*.

101. *Fathers of the church.*—*St. Athanasius.*—*St. Basil and St. Gregory.*—*St. Jerome and St. Ambrose.*—We have already spoken of that young deacon who victoriously opposed Arius before the council of Nice, and of *Athanasius*, bishop of Alexandria, the object of the indefatigable hatred of the Arians (373). After him two illustrious friends united their learning and talents for the defence and glory of Christianity, *St. Basil* (329–379) and *St. Gregory of Na-*



zianzen (328–389). Educated at the same school, and rivals in their studies, they sustained the contest against heresy with equal zeal, and maintained in the highest positions the honor of their priesthood. Basil appearing before the imperial governor (v. *Rom. Hist.* ch. xxiii. § v.), Gregory abandoning, in order to appease some disputes, the second bishopric in the world, gave a noble example of apostolic firmness and disinterestedness. Both rendered equal services by their writings; Basil by profound reasoning, vast erudition, and works always grand, sometimes sublime; Gregory by a mildness, an impressiveness, and a grace, which make you love his doctrines while you admire his talents. The tears of the church proved how much she regretted this admirable fraternity of self-devotion, virtue, and genius. But two teachers not less illustrious were already beginning to make themselves known. These were Jerome and Ambrose.

*St. Jerome* (340–420), the most learned of the fathers of the Latin church, buried his renown in a desert, where the remembrance of Rome and the voice of worldly glory came more than once to trouble his passionate soul and fervid imagination. There he devoted himself to the defence of the orthodox creed, and waged war against heresy from the depths of his solitude. It is to him that we owe the Latin translation of the Scriptures. The name of *St. Ambrose* closes the fourth century (340–397). He was distinguished as an orator, a philosopher, and a learned theologian. The boldness with which he compelled the great Theodosius to do penance for the massacre of Thessalonica shows how firmly he exercised his ecclesiastical authority, and the conversion of St. Augustine to orthodoxy is considered as sufficient proof of the earnestness and success of his apostolic labors.

102. *Series of the fathers of the Greek church.*—*St. John Chrysostom.*—These illustrious men were followed by worthy successors. The bishop of Hippo and the bishop of Constan-

tinople appear at the same time. *John*, the *golden-mouthed father* (344–407), after having preached twenty years in Antioch, was raised to the patriarchal chair of Constantinople. Firm and independent in the exercise of his authority, he spared neither the vices of the throne nor of the hovel. He was driven twice from Constantinople by the intrigues of his powerful enemies, and twice recalled by the enthusiasm of the people, full of admiration for his austere virtues and apostolic zeal. But the court of Constantinople could not long endure a prelate whose presence alone was a stern condemnation of its licentiousness. Chrysostom was compelled to yield a third time to the resentment of the emperor, and bade adieu to his church, never to see it again. Dragged from exile to exile, compelled to follow his merciless keepers bareheaded under the rays of a burning sun, the holy old man, already worn out with labor and austerity, died at the age of sixty-three on the shores of the Euxine.

After him *St. Cyril* of Alexandria (d. 444) composed works remarkable for their profound learning, if not for correctness of style: *Theodoret* (387–458), who had Chrysostom for his model in eloquence, governed the church of Cyr in Asia with great applause. In the eighth century *John of Damascus* (676–754) left several hymns which are still sung in the festivals of the church.

103. *Series of the fathers of the Latin church.*—*St. Augustine.*—In the Latin church *St. Augustine* (354–429) was the ornament of sacred literature. He was born at Carthage, a learned and polite city, still flourishing amid the decay of the empire, and where the crowd still flocked to the public squares to witness the contests of the rhetoricians. In his *confessions* he tells us how he was first led astray by the temptations of youth. The subtleties too of the sophists entangled him in the errors of *Manicheism*. But rescued from them by *St. Ambrose*, he became their most fatal enemy. “He was,”

says Villemain, "the most wonderful man of the Latin church; the one who brought most imagination to theology, the most eloquence and even sensibility to scholastic philosophy. Never did a man possess a vaster or a readier genius. His comprehensive mind embraced every science—metaphysics, history, archæology, manners, arts. He wrote upon music as readily as upon free will: he explains the phenomena of memory, and the decay of the empire. His eloquence, though tainted with affectation and barbarism, is often fresh and simple." His writings still form the basis of theological instruction in the Catholic church, and hold also an important place as works of philosophy. In the immense variety of his writings, there is a character of religious universality which reminds us of Bossuet.

104. *Literature in the fifth century.—Sacred writers.*—In the fifth century *Salvian*, a priest of Marseilles, wrote during the great invasion a treatise on the *Government of God*, in which he justifies the ways of Providence, and speaks of the Barbarians as instruments of Divine justice. *St. Avitus* of Vienna composed a poem on the loss of Paradise, which is supposed to have suggested some beautiful passages to Milton: *Claudian Mamertus* was considered by Sidonius Apollinarius as the finest genius of his time (474): and *St. Cesarius* (542) won a name by the beauty and simplicity of his homilies. All these were Gauls.—In Italy, *Boethius* defended the fundamental truths of Christianity with the logic of Aristotle: *Cassiodorus* in his retirement wrote a remarkable work on the *Scriptures*: *Dionysius the Little*, (d. about 545) collected the *Apostolical Canons*, which obtained great success for the favorable view which they gave of the claims of the Holy See; and in 526 calculated an Easter cycle, in which the birth of Christ was used for the first time as the starting point of chronology.

Finally two popes, *St. Leo* (440–461) and *St. Gregory*

(590–604), obtained a high reputation by their writings and their discourses. The name of St. Gregory closes the list of the sacred writers of this period of decay. His last homily, pronounced before the Roman people when the city was reduced to extremity by the attack of the Lombards, is characterized by a deep and touching eloquence.

105. *Historians.—Poets.*—History in the hands of the Christians is confined almost exclusively to the church, if we except *Orosius* of Tarragona (towards 414), author of an *abridgment of the History of the World*, *Cassiodorus*, *Jornandes*, the historian of the Goths (towards 552), and *Isidorus* of Seville (570–636), who published a *Universal Chronicle*. The sufferings of the faithful and the triumphs of the church serve as an introduction to the narration of contemporary events; which, recorded by monks and priests, find a place on the page, only when they are connected with the history of religion. It will be enough to cite in the Greek church, after *Eusebius* (338), *Socrates the Scholastic*, *Sozomenes*, and *Theodoret*, who collected the events after Constantine: in the Latin, *Sulpicius Severus*, whose *Sacred History* won him the name of the Christian Sallust; *Gregory* of Tours (595), the Herodotus of France, whose continuator, *Fredegarius*, fell far short of the winning artlessness and originality of the author of the *Ecclesiastical History of the Franks*; and the *Venerable Bede*, a Saxon monk of the eighth century, who laboriously collected the precious materials of the ancient history of England.

Some Christian poets had mingled the fables of paganism with their writings; but the mysteries of Christianity inspired something nobler than the compositions of *Ausonius*, which often ran into licentiousness (309–374), and the light poems of *Sidonius Apollinarius* (430–489). *Synesius*, bishop of Ptolemais and contemporary of St. Chrysostom, has left several hymns remarkable for purity of style and elevation of

thought. *Prudentius* (405), by turns lawyer, magistrate, and soldier, won by his lyric and didactic poems the title of prince of Christian poets. The poem of *Prosperus* of Aquitania on *Grace* was often imitated by Louis Racine. And in the seventh century, the hymn in honor of the cross, *Vexilla regis prodeunt*, the last monument of Latin poetry, was written by *Fortunatus*, the first versifier of his age (606), and who was treated with great honor by the princes of the Merovingian line.

106. *Sciences and arts.*—*Application of architecture and music to the Catholic worship.*—The sciences, which require calm and tranquil meditation, made but little progress during this period of troubles and disorder. Geography owes some useful indications to the *Periplus* of *Marcian* of Heracleia, and the *Christian Cosmography* of the Egyptian *Cosmos*, who describes China and India with considerable exactness. The celebrated *Proclus* left several works on astronomy; and *Diophantes*, another of the new Platonists, invented, it is said, the first elements of algebra. The physical sciences were lost in the dreams of alchemy. The *compendium of medical knowledge* of *Paul Eginetus* is the only work which deserves to be remembered amidst a crowd of treatises on charms, talismans, and dreams.

Art, like literature, undergoes a remarkable transformation. Painting, drawing, and sculpture, after having supplied paganism with the objects of its worship, were looked upon with suspicion by the enemies of an idolatry which had not yet been overcome; and the Catholic church, which preserved the worship of images, attached at first far more importance to the subject than to the execution. Drawing and painting were employed by the monks as ornaments of the manuscripts which they copied so laboriously, and mosaic was beginning to be used in decorating the interior of churches.

Architecture, which had seemed destined to fall with the

ruins of the empire, was about to revive with the wants of a new worship, and take a new and bold flight. The Roman basilica, which had never been profaned by the worship of false gods, was developed into the Christian temple. In the midst of the sanctuaries of paganism, Constantine had built the churches of St. John Lateran and St. Agnes. The Rotunda of Ravenna, built by Theodoric, and St. Sophia of Constantinople, by Justinian, deserve mention for their boldness and their colossal dimensions; but nearly all the remarkable monuments of the *Roman* or *Byzantine* type belong to the following age, in which the Gothic first arose, the source of all the architectural wonders of the middle ages (v. last chap.).

Music, the sweetest form of adoration, was studied carefully. St. Ambrose substituted a graver and nobler style to the light melodies of the pagans. St. Gregory perfected it, and gave his name to that solemn and touching rhythm which is still heard in the ceremonies of the Catholic church.

## CHAPTER VII.

### MAHOMETANISM.

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#### SUMMARY.

§ I. Description of Arabia : Arabia Deserta : Petrea : Happy.—The Sabeans and Ishmaelites ; their customs.—Religious state of Arabia before Mahomet.

§ II. *History of Mahomet* : his first preaching : conversion of his cousin Ali : his flight or *hegira*.—First expedition of Mahomet against the inhabitants of Mecca : battle of Beder.—Embassy of Mahomet to the emperor ; to the king of Persia ; to the king of Abyssinia.—Victory of Muta.—Taking of Mecca.—Death of Mahomet.

§ III. *The Koran* : its origin : its principal dogmas : skilful combination of Christianity and Judaism : observances prescribed to Mussulmen.—Fatalism.

§ IV. Abu-Beker, first caliph.—Beginning of the holy war : exploits of Khaled : battle of Yermuck : conquest of Syria.—Amru invades Egypt under the caliphate of Omar.—Conquest of Persia after the victory of victories under Othman.—Caliphate of Ali : civil war : Ali assassinated.—Moaviah founds the dynasty of the Ommiades.—Useless attack of Constantinople.—Success in Africa.—Victory of Xeres won by Tarik.—Progress in the East ; in central and southern Asia.—The Mussulmen repulsed from Constantinople by the Greek fire.—Extent of the Mussulman empire.—Contests of the Abbassides and Ommiades.—Caliphate of the East falls to the Abbassides.—Abderame at Cordova.

§ V. Brilliant period of the caliphate of the East.—Al Manzor.—Al

**Mahadi.**—*Glorious reign of Haroun al Raschid.*—Flourishing state of the East under the caliphate : development of letters, the sciences, the arts.—Al-Maroun worthy successor of Haroun.

§ VI. Decline of the caliphate : dismemberment of the Mussulman empire.—Dynasty of the Edrissites and Aglabites in Africa.—The Fatimites.—Influence of the Turkish troops.—The emir Al-Omra.—Mahmoud the Gazneride independent in Persia.—Progress of the Seljuk Turka.—Toghrul-Beg, Malek-Schah.—Conquest of Asia Minor and Syria.

§ VII. Conquest of Spain after the battle of Xeres.—Musa comes to replace Tarik, and is recalled himself.—The Christians in the Asturias.—Troubles.—New expedition.—Spain becomes independent of the caliphate of the East.

§ VIII. Abderame the Ommiad at Cordova.—State of Spain under the dominion of the Arabs.—Wealth and civilization.—Beginning of the contest between the Christians and the Arabs.—First successes.—Kingdom of Asturia : of Navarre.—Glorious reign of the caliph Abderame III.—Exploits of the vizier Al-Manzor.—Decline and fall of the caliphate.

§ IX. Excursions of the Arabs on the coasts of France and Italy.—Conquests of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica.

## PART FIRST.

### THE MUSSULMEN IN ASIA AND AFRICA.

#### § I.

#### STATE OF ARABIA BEFORE MAHOMET.

107. *Description of Arabia.*—On the south of Syria and east of Egypt lies a vast peninsula, which the old writers divided into three parts, Desert Arabia, Stony Arabia, and Happy Arabia.

Nature is dead in the deserts of Arabia ; the sky is like brass, and there is nothing to temper the heat of the sun. From the summits of hills which the winds have stripped of vegetation, you descry vast plains in which the weary wan-



derer vainly seeks a shade to refresh him, or an object on which his eye can repose. An immense space separates him from every living being. From time to time, at the foot of some grove of isolated palms, he finds a stream which flows on and loses itself in the sands. The Arabian alone knows these resting-places: he alone inhabits them. Accustomed to a frugal life, he finds there the means of satisfying his desires. It is there that he carries the slaves and treasures which he has taken from the caravan, and places them, as it were, under the protection of the fearful simoom, whose sulphureous exhalations choke man and beast. In the north, the aspect of the country suddenly changes. Immense blocks of granite, heaped up in wild disorder bear witness to the ravages of extinguished volcanoes. In the midst of these gigantic fragments rises the chain of Sinai, whose valleys, fertile in pasturage, nourish large flocks. The shore of the Red Sea leads to Yemen or Araby the Blessed, where incense, balm, cinnamon, and coffee grow abundantly. Cultivation is carried to the very tops of the mountains. Large roads unite the different cities, and an active commerce draws together foreigners from all parts.

108. *Manners and religion of the Arabians before Mahomet.*—Two people of different origin and manners occupied Arabia towards the beginning of the middle ages: the Sabeans, for the most part sedentary, dwelling in cities, exchanging the products of their own country for the gold of others: and the Ishmaelites, wanderers like the son of Abraham, from whom they descended, and constantly engaged in contending with other men for that portion of the inheritance from which they have always been excluded. Like the Bedouins of our own days, these children of the desert traversed the sandy waste full as often to levy contributions upon travellers, as to defend the caravans which had paid the escort tax to the great Emir of the desert. Though they lived by plunder, yet the

stranger who took refuge under their tent was received joyfully; for hospitality was their chief virtue. United under the orders of a sheik or emir, their judge in peace and their leader in war, they formed independent hordes, which sometimes united in some plundering excursion, and sometimes waged war upon one another. Their rich and ardent imagination loved the songs of poets, and early adopted the fables of paganism, which they adorned with oriental dreams. The Sabeism of Persia had also found its way among them, without effacing those paternal traditions which had preserved in the midst of Arabia some traces of the Jewish religion. Christianity had made some progress among the wandering tribes of the north; and in the south, the Negus of Abyssinia, conqueror of the king of Yemen, had placed a Christian dynasty upon the throne. The four religions were about to be skilfully combined in order to form a new one, and *Mahomet* came to lead these robbers of the desert to the conquest of the world.

## § II.

### LIFE OF MAHOMET.

109. *First preaching of Mahomet.—The Hegira.*—Mahomet, son of Abdallah, of the tribe of the Koreishites, descendants of Ishmael, was born in Mecca in 569. An orphan at the age of five, at twenty-five he married a rich widow named *Cadijah*, in whose service he had led caravans, and passed the first fifteen years of his married life in meditating that bold enterprise which was to change the face of half the world. Every year, he passed a month in a cave of Mount Hora, near Mecca. All of a sudden he pretended that the angel Gabriel had appeared to him, presented him a book, and bade him "Read in the name of the Lord who created

thee: for thou art the Apostle of God." He then declared himself the chosen of God to teach men a religion more perfect than that of the Jews and Christians: a prophet announced by the Scriptures greater than Moses—greater than Christ. The first to believe his words were his wife Cadijah, and Seid his slave. In a feast in which he had assembled forty of his relatives, he offered them the goods of this world and the next, if they would embrace his doctrines. His cousin *Ali*, a youth of fourteen, cried out with enthusiasm, "O Prophet! I will be thy companion and vizier. Whoever rises up against thee, I will break his teeth and tear out his bowels." The others tried to dissuade him from a project which they condemned as folly. Unable to move him, either by threats or entreaties, they gave the alarm to the citizens of Mecca: nearly the whole of his own tribe declared against him, and after various vicissitudes and dangers, he was at last compelled to take refuge among his proselytes in Yatreb, which from that time was called Medina (the city *par excellence*). This was the hegira or year of flight, which forms the basis of Mussulman chronology (622).

110. *Victories and conquests of Mahomet.—His death.*—It was from this, in fact, that Mahomet's triumph dates. The inhabitants of Medina declared for him, and as soon as he felt himself strong enough, he took up arms. Hearing that a body of Koreishites was returning from Syria with a rich caravan, he went to lie in wait for them near the well of *Beder* (625). The caravan escaped, but a large body which had come out to their aid was defeated with great loss; and this massacre was the beginning of that bloody preaching of *Islamism* which was to fill the world with carnage and ruins. Soon after, the defeat of ten thousand men under the walls of Mecca avenged a slight check of his partisans, and he obtained by treaty permission to visit the temple of the Caaba, that great object of the veneration of the Arabs, to which

crowds of pilgrims flocked from all parts to see the famous *black stone*, once a gem of paradise, or as some taught, Adam's guardian angel, atoning in this form for the neglect of his charge.

The taking of Caibac, a powerful city of the Jews (627), inspired him with such confidence, that he wrote to the emperor Heraclius, the king of Persia, the king of Abyssinia, the governor of Egypt, and all the emirs of the Arabs—"In the name of Him who created the heavens and the earth, I command you to believe in God, and in Mahomet his prophet." Little attention was paid to his summons; but next year the army of Heraclius was defeated for the first time by the Mussulmen near Muta (630). The Mahometans did wonders on that day. The standard-bearer Giafar had his right hand cut off. He seized the standard with his left. Losing this too, he clasped the standard in his arms, and held it fast till he fell with it, lifeless. Khaled, one of Mahomet's lieutenants, decided the victory by his valor. Nine swords had broken in his hand during the conflict. Mecca, at the news of this triumph, opened her gates. The three hundred and sixty idols of the Caaba fell, and the temple of Mecca became the first temple of Islamism (*islam, the faith that saves*). Arabia received the new law voluntarily or by force; and in the year of *Embassies* (631) the envoys of Heraclius, of the governor of Egypt, and the king of Yemen, came to solicit the friendship of the conqueror.

Shortly after, Mahomet died of a languishing disease (632), poisoned, it was said, by a Jewess, at the taking of Mecca. Perceiving his end approach, he caused himself to be carried to the mosque of Medina, and said to the people: "If I have struck any one, here is a stick, let him strike me again. If I owe any one, here is my purse, let him pay himself." A man claimed three drachms, which Mahomet paid, thanking him for having accused him in this world rather than in the next.

## § III.

SKETCH OF THE RELIGIOUS LEGISLATION OF MAHOMET AND  
THE KORAN.

111. *Origin of the Koran.*—Mahomet left no digested body of doctrine. His father-in-law, Abu Beker, collected all the sentences, instructions, visions, and revelations which he had scattered during his lifetime, and formed the *Koran* or *book par excellence*. In this strange collection great truths are mingled with absurd dreams and deplorable errors. Mahomet had studied Christianity in Syria, and was familiar with the doctrines of the Jews. The Koran was announced as the complement of the Bible and the Gospel. "Truth," said Mahomet, "has been brought to man by six prophets: Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus Christ, and Mahomet. The last is the greatest of all. He is the *spirit of truth* announced by the Gospel." By accepting many rites and doctrines of the Christians and Jews, he doubtless won many to his side who would otherwise have opposed him when their opposition was most to be dreaded; and he never could have taken the same stand as an insulated teacher, which he did as the successor of a line of prophets. But it must not be forgotten that he was born in a land of idolaters, whom he was the first to recall from their idolatry; that he had been brought up in absurd rites, the absurdity of which he had the intelligence to perceive and the boldness to declare; and that the nation which he found grovelling before images of their own making, he left sincere and ardent believers in the unity of God.

But he was far from thinking that many of the rites which the abstemious Mussulman could practise with but little effort under the burning sun of Arabia, would become

a grievous burthen to his descendants in Constantinople and Spain. A drop of fresh water or a cup of milk is the sweetest draught that can be offered to the parched lip of the Arab in the desert, and Mahomet may well be excused for not having foreseen that the day would come when it would be hard for a Moslem to turn away from the wine-cup.

112. *Principal dogmas of Islamism.*—The religion of Islam is divided into two parts: Faith and Practice. There are six articles of faith: 1st. Faith in God—single, immutable, omniscient, omnipotent, all-merciful, and eternal. 2d. In his angels, ethereal beings created from fire, of various degrees in duty and favor, but all raised by their nature above the weaknesses and infirmities of humanity. 3d. In the Koran, as a book of Divine revelation. 4th. In the prophets of God—six of whom out of two hundred thousand are pre-eminent, as having brought new laws and dispensations upon earth. 5th. The resurrection and final judgment. Here Christianity and Arabo-Judaism are strangely blended: the Moslem believing that the soul is reunited to the body to be judged in the grave, immediately after death, by two black angels of fearful aspect, and then awaits, in a state of seraphic tranquillity, near the tomb, or of awful anticipation in the bowels of the earth, through the *interval* between death and resurrection. 6th. Predestination, or that every event, the destiny and dying hour of every individual, were irrevocably predetermined.

Practice: 1st. Prayer and ablution five times a day. 2d. Alms to the value of a tenth of a man's revenue. 3d. Fasting—thirty days during the month Rhamadan from sunrise to sunset. 4th. One pilgrimage to Mecca during life, either in person or by proxy.

If we compare this system with Christianity, we must confess that it every where betrays the marks of human weakness, and falls infinitely below the Divine precepts of

Christ. But if we compare it with what Mahomet learnt from his fathers and saw daily practised around him, we shall be compelled to confess that none but a genius of the highest order could have worked out such a change. There can be no reasonable doubt of Mahomet's sincerity, at least up to the beginning of his military expeditions, when human ambition began first to develope itself in his breast; nor should it be a matter of surprise, that in turning away in disgust from the idolatry of his own countrymen, he should have hesitated to accept a creed at the hands of such Jews or even such Christians as he had known.

#### § IV.

#### ALI.—THE OMMIADES.

##### 113. *The first caliphs.—Conquest of Syria and Egypt.*—

Ali, the first of the believers, seemed called to succeed Mahomet; but the influence of Ayesha, the prophet's favorite wife, prevailed against him, and obtained the election of her father, Abu Beker, as *caliph* or vicar of the prophet. He immediately summoned the faithful to the work of conversion, and gave the signal of the *holy war*. Syria, the nearest country, was attacked first. Khaled, *the sword of God*, invaded it at the head of five thousand men, inured to every form of hardship by the wandering life of the desert, and animated by the wildest enthusiasm. The Roman army, seventy thousand strong, was conquered at Aisnaddin. Bozra and Damascus were taken by assault. Part of the inhabitants, who had been spared on the faith of a treaty and allowed three days to escape in, were overtaken and massacred in their flight. The brilliant success of the Mussulmen was crowned by the great victory of Yermouk, under the caliph-

ate of *Omar* (634-644), and in 638 Syria submitted to the conquerors.

Egypt was invaded by *Amru*, who had shared with *Khaled* the glory and the perils of the Syrian war (638). Memphis opens her gates, and after a resistance of fourteen months Alexandria is taken, in spite of the energetic resistance of her inhabitants and the succor which they received by sea. It was then that the great library of Alexandria is said to have been destroyed, although the story is hard to reconcile with the silence of the original historians, or the condition in which the library had been left by the destruction of the temple of Serapion.

114. *Conquest of Persia*.—Persia was conquered at the same time. The tiara, after long domestic dissensions, had just been placed on the head of the young *Yesdegird III.*, when the Arabians appeared on the frontier under the orders of the brave *Saad*. The terrible battle of *Kadesia* (636), which lasted three days, threw the Persians beyond the *Tigris*, and the belief that the last hour of their empire had come spread dismay and discouragement among the soldiers. The cities which had so often repulsed the Roman armies opened their gates without resistance. But still the young king, though surrounded by cowards and traitors, struggled manfully for his throne. At the head of his last army he fought, near *Nehavend*, a decisive battle, and lost all in the *victory of victories* (642). Forsaken by every one, he was assassinated a few years after, and the dynasty of the *Sassanides* ended with him (652).

*Omar* had died in 644, with the boast that he had contributed more than the prophet himself to the progress of Islamism, having destroyed forty thousand temples of the unbelievers. The fall of *Yesdegird* and final subjection of Persia took place under his successor, *Othman* (644-655).

115. *Caliphate of Ali*.—*Civil war*.—*Ali*, the faithful



companion of the prophet, was now raised to the caliphate, but his elevation was the cause of his death. Ayesha, who had opposed him three times successfully, now excited Amru, governor of Egypt, and Mohaviah, governor of Syria, against him. The civil war lasted five years. To end it, three fanatics resolved to kill the three pretenders, and each chose his victim. Ali alone was killed (661), and his descendants struggled in vain to defend their inheritance. These political divisions gave rise to a religious division still deeper and far more lasting. The partisans of Ali, under the name of *Schiites*, attached themselves scrupulously to the letter of the Koran, and rejected with horror the doctrines of the *Sunnites*, who admitted tradition as a means of interpreting and completing the sacred book. The former are chiefly found in Persia, and an irreconcilable hatred separates the two sects, each of which maintains that it is more pleasing to God to kill one schismatic Mussulman than many Christians.

116. *Accession of the Ommiades.—Conquests in Africa and Spain.*—Mohaviah caused himself to be proclaimed caliph, and became the founder of the dynasty of the Ommiades. It was he who first sent his fleets against Constantinople, upon the word of the prophet, who had promised a glorious place in Paradise to him who should first attack the city of the emperors. But the Imperialists fought with the *Greek fire*, which water instead of extinguishing, merely decomposed and supplied with fresh strength. "It was thrown from the summits of the walls in waves of fire, or hurled in vessels of red-hot iron: it cleaved the sea in fire-ships, which dashed frightfully in amidst the hostile fleet, and falling with the swiftness and noise of a thunderbolt, spread a horrid light far around." The Arabs were driven back, and Mohaviah was compelled to pay tribute (678).

In Africa his arms were more successful. Here he was opposed by Queen Kainah, who summoning all the tribes to

the defence of their country, repulsed a first attack, and laid the country waste to render a second impracticable. This terrible measure, which was executed by the wandering warriors of the desert, produced a revolt among the inhabitants of the west, and the Moslems reappearing soon after, were welcomed as friends and protectors. Hassan took Carthage (698), and after the death of Kaina, killed in battle (706), *Musa* completed the conquest of Africa to the shores of the Atlantic. The exile of three hundred thousand Berbers, who were transported into Asia, confirmed the subjection of the country. Islamism was imposed upon the vanquished, and Christianity disappeared for ages from this portion of the world, where it had once seemed to have struck its roots so deeply. The conquest of Spain soon followed that of Africa.

Five thousand Mussulmen crossed the straits of Gibraltar under the orders of *Tarik*, and at the call of Count Julian (v. ch. ii.). The battle of Xeres (711), in which Roderic fell, overthrew the power of the Christians. Those who escaped took refuge in the mountains of Asturia (v. ch. vii.).

117. *Progress in the east.—Extent of the Moslem dominions.*—In the east the conquests did not stop. Armenia was conquered in 696 by the caliph Abd-el-Malek. Under the caliphate of *Walid*, who had sent *Musa*, the Moslem arms appeared on the frontiers of China, and the emperor, alarmed at the approach of these men whom no obstacle could stop, hastened to promise tribute and send magnificent presents. On their return, they conquered the warlike population of Turkishtan, and subdued central Asia beyond the Indus and the Ganges. Still they met a firm resistance in Asia Minor, where the Taurus long marked the limit of their possessions. A second attack of Constantinople was equally unfortunate with the first : and the Moslem fleet was again destroyed by the terrible Greek fire (717).

Eighty years after Mahomet's death, his empire had ac-

quired an immense extent. In Europe, it embraced Spain and the Balearic Islands: in Africa, all the northern coast from the Atlantic to the Red Sea: in Asia, Arabia, Syria, Palestine, Persia, Armenia, and the provinces of the Caucasus, the two Bucharías, with a part of Turkishtan and Hindostan. Thus in less than a century had arisen a dominion vaster than that of the Romans or of Alexander. But the seeds of division were already sown, and a great revolution was about to prepare the way for a future reaction of religion and liberty.

118. *Contest between the Abbassides and Ommiades.*—The descendants of Abbas, an uncle of Mahomet, revolted under *Merwan II.*, and were supported by the partisans of Ali, irreconcilable enemies of the usurping race. A bloody war began between the Abbassides and Ommiades—the *black banner* and the *white*: it was both a political and a religious contest. Merwan was killed (749), eighty members of his family were put to death by order of his rival, Aboul-Abbas, and the caliphate of Damascus was the prize of the new dynasty. At the same time, an Ommiad who had escaped from the massacre of his family, *Abderame*, fled to Spain, where he defeated the lieutenant of the Abbassides (756), and declared himself independent at Cordova (v. § viii.).

### § V.

#### THE ABBASSIDES.

119. *Caliphate of the east.*—*Al-Manzor.*—*Al-Mahadi.*—*Al-Raschid.*—The era of the Ommiades had been the period of conquests. That of the Abbassides also, though destined to witness the decline and fall of the caliphate, had its days of power and glory. The blind fanaticism of Mahometanism

yielded to the influence of civilization, and the Arabian character, after having been first developed with such fearful energy, now appeared under an aspect which, though divested of its terrors, had lost none of its splendor.

After the death of Aboul-Abbas the Bloody, *Abou-Giafar-al-Manzor* (the victorious), founder of Bagdad (762), carried his arms to the north of the Caspian, and gave a generous protection to literature and the arts (754-775). The reign of *Mohammed al-Mohadi* (the reformer of justice) prepared the way for that of his son *Haroun al-Raschid*, whose military career began during the lifetime of his father by a brilliant expedition against the empress *Irene*, who was compelled to promise tribute (782). Under this great prince (786-809), the caliphate attained its highest degree of splendor. The emperor Nicephoras having dared to send the caliph a bundle of swords, instead of the tribute promised by Irene, Haroun cut with a blow of his scimeter the badly tempered steel of the Greek arms, and sent word to the emperor that "*he would see, not hear his answer.*" Soon after, the terrified Greeks saw the Arabs advance in Asia Minor, and Nicephoras, defeated in several battles, was compelled to accept a humiliating treaty, and have engraved upon his tribute money the image of his victorious enemy (805).

120. *Development of literature, the sciences, and the arts.*—The arts of peace, too, flourished under the patronage of the caliph. The Arabs, weary of making ruins, set themselves to rebuild them: the fields, so long desolate, were covered with delightful country-seats: smiling gardens, built upon the sides of mountains and supported by enormous walls, recalled the hanging gardens of Babylon. The palace of the caliph seemed the type of those enchanted dwellings of which we read in the Arabian tales. A few years later, the Greek ambassadors admired in this splendid dwelling thirty-eight thousand carpets, a great number of which were of silk, em-

broidered with gold, and among other refinements of a wonderful luxury, a tree of gold and silver, with eighteen large branches covered with birds of all kinds, made like the leaves themselves of the most precious materials. This tree waved as if in the wind, and with every undulation you heard the songs of the different birds.

Enthusiastic admirers of every kind of glory, the inhabitants of the east aspired to literary success as well as success in arms. Their ingenious and fertile imaginations produced those graceful fictions, those fantastic inventions, those passionate narratives, of which the Arabian Nights are the specimen best known. But they took pleasure also in abstract meditation, became philosophers, and studied Aristotle. The categories, the divisions and formulas of the Stagirite became popular in the east, and even Islamism itself did not wholly escape the influence of peripatetic ideas, any more than Christianity did those of Plato.

The exact sciences were further advanced at the court of Al-Raschid than in Europe, and the Arabs became, on more than one occasion, the masters of the Europeans. They taught them the numerals which we still use, and which were so great an improvement upon the Roman. To them also belongs, if not the invention, the application, at least, of algebra, that admirable instrument of mathematical discovery. Chemistry and medicine were in great honor at Bagdad, and *Avicenna* and *Averroes* won an immense reputation, aided, perhaps, not a little by the use of means which experience has long since disclaimed. The first clock that was seen in Europe was sent by Haroun to Charlemagne, and the post was established in the provinces of the caliph seven hundred years before it was introduced into France.

*Al-Mamoun*, the worthy successor of Al-Raschid (813-833), employed learned men to collect the most useful works and translate them into Arabic, in spite of the opposition of

the Mahometan theologians, who condemned these reproductions of Greek literature and philosophy as blasphemy. All that they could obtain was, that after the translation was completed the originals should be destroyed.

## § VI.

### INDEPENDENT DYNASTIES.—SELJUK TURKS.

121. *Dismemberment of the Moslem empire.—Independent dynasties.*—But though this splendor concealed for a while, it could not destroy the seeds of decay which had been thickly sown in the Arabian dominion. The enthusiasm which had been so powerful an instrument of conquest, became a source of disorder when the victory was won. Fanaticism and ambition were soon to destroy the vast empire which they had built up. Even during the reign of Al-Raschid, *Ibrahim ben-Aglab* had refused to pay tribute, and founded in northern Africa the independent dynasty of the *Aglabites* (800), which ruled on the Mediterranean for two centuries, and conquered Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily (v. § ix.). Another of his lieutenants, *Edris*, threw off the dominion of the caliphs, and built on the west coast of Africa the city of *Fex*, which became the capital of the *Edrissites* (789). The dynasties of the *Taherites* (813–872), of the *Soffarides* (872–912), of the *Samanides* (879–999), succeeded one another in Khorassan. While the Tartar tribes, newly converted to Islamism, dismembered the caliphate in the east, and founded the dynasty of the *Hamadanides* in Mesopotamia (892) and of the *Buids* in Persia (933), the sect of the Karmathians devastated the remaining provinces of the caliphate with fire and sword. These fanatics, who at the word of their chief, did not hesitate to plunge a dagger in their breasts or throw themselves from a precipice, easily dispersed the effeminate

troops of the sovereigns of Bagdad, and carried their ravages to the coasts of Africa.

And finally the *Fatimides*, roused by a sectary who announced himself as a descendant of Fatima, the daughter of the prophet, and himself the last of the prophets, became powerful in Africa, and subjected to their yoke the descendants of Edris and of Aglab (909). *Moer-Billah* (953-975), the fourth Fatimite, founded the city of Cairo, which became the seat of the new caliphate. "What are your titles to this rank?" inquired some injudicious doubters. "These," replied the Fatimite chief, displaying his treasure and his sword, "these are my genealogy and my family." Africa was to remain subject to his successors till towards the end of the twelfth century (v. ch. xii.).

122. *Decay of the caliphate.*—*The Emir al-Omrah.*—The caliphs of Bagdad had sought to escape this general dismemberment by calling terrible auxiliaries to their defence. The Turkish troops, brave as the Arabs of Mahomet, had been received in the caliph's guard in 841; but these fierce and independent men soon shook the empire which they had been called to sustain, and bloodied the throne with their frequent revolts. Five caliphs perished by assassination in the course of twenty-five years (846-870), and at the end of the ninth century an insurrection of the Arabs of the desert gave the last blow to the dynasty of the Abbassides. *Al-Rhadi* (934-940), unable to defend his inheritance against these constantly renewed usurpations and insurrections, placed his throne under the protection of a more energetic authority, and conferred upon a Turk of the family of the Buids the dignity of *Emir al-Omrah*, or *prince of the princes of the empire of the caliph* (935). This office had the same effect as the *mayor-dom of the palace* among the Franks. The emir stripped the caliph of his political influence, and left him nothing but an empty religious supremacy.

Still their power did not long survive that of the caliphs. The Fatimites advanced from conquest to conquest, through Palestine and Syria, up to the gates of Bagdad, and forced the emir to pay tribute (985). A few years afterwards, Persia, which had long been subject to the Buids, was taken from them by *Mahmoud the Gaznevide* (997), who was the first to take the title of sultan, making extensive conquests in Persia and India: but his dynasty was soon to give way before a new power.

123. *The Seljuk Turks in Asia Minor.*—The powerful tribe of Seljuk Turks descended from the shores of the Caspian and the Oxus under the guidance of the valiant *Toghrul-beg*, whom they had proclaimed king (1038). Toghrul drove the Gaznevites towards the Indus, stripped the Buids of the office of emir al-omrah, and seated himself on the throne at the side of the caliph, who placed upon his head two turbans as symbols of the crowns of Persia and Arabia, and girded him with two swords, as lord of the east and the west. Toghrul's son *Alp-Arslan* (1063) entered Asia Minor, which the emperor Diogenes defended vigorously. But the Barbarian profiting by the defection of a body of mercenaries, defeated him, and in the exultation of victory compelled the unfortunate sovereign to kiss the ground before his conqueror (1071). Under *Malek-Shah* (1072–1093), the empire of the Seljuks extended from the extreme confines of Yemen to the Caspian sea, and from the frontiers of China to the shores of the Hellespont. Egypt alone remained subject to the Fatimites. The Greeks retained possession of a few cities in Asia Minor. But the division of the vast inheritance of Malek-Shah into four sultanates, prepared the way for the success of the first crusade.



## PART SECOND.

## THE MUSSULMEN IN EUROPE.

## § VII.

## INVASION OF SPAIN BY THE ARABS.

124. *Conquest of Spain by Tarik and Musa.*—The monarchy of the Goths fell at the battle of Xeres, and Christian Spain seemed annihilated. The victorious Saracens penetrated, under the guidance of Tarik, to the heart of the Peninsula, ravaged Andalusia, and took Toledo, while a small band of warriors who had escaped from the disastrous field of Xeres took refuge in the mountains of Asturia, under the conduct of *Pelagio*, a descendant, it was said, of the Gothic king Recaredes. These heroes, faithful to their God and to their country, preserved in exile the sacred deposit of religion and independence. Pelagio, proclaimed king in 718, and victorious over the Mussulmen the very next year, established his authority over the important cities of Astorga and Leon. His successors were soon to pass the narrow limits of this little kingdom, and restore Christianity and freedom to the conquered people.

Over all the rest of Spain the Arab dominion spread rapidly. The emir Musa, jealous of his lieutenant's glory, crossed the strait at the head of eighteen thousand men, and all the provinces yielded at his approach. Medina, Seville, Beja, were taken in turn; and the Goth Theodemir succeeded in preserving the province of Murcia in eastern Betica only by promising tribute. However, Merida, formerly one of the most celebrated of the Roman colonies, and then the capital of Lusitania, resisted courageously, in the hope that

the fatigues of war and old age would soon deliver her from her enemy. Musa triumphed by a stratagem: he stained his beard and hair, and gave audience to the Christian envoys in a half-lighted tent. The deputies, terrified at this metamorphose, told their fellow-citizens that their hopes were vain, and the city opened its gates.

125. *Troubles.*—*Spain becomes independent of the caliphs of the east.*—Meanwhile Musa, who had taken away the command from his lieutenant Tarick and had him beaten ignominiously, was recalled by the caliph. He returned to the east loaded with the wealth which the Goth had been three centuries in collecting, and leaving the government of his new conquest to his son, the young *Abdelasis*. Abdelasis had distinguished himself during the invasion by brilliant exploits; but his marriage with the beautiful Egilona, widow of Roderic, excited the suspicion of the caliph, who had him assassinated in the mosque of Cordova. Musa, the conqueror of Spain, whom the tyrant had stripped of his treasures and banished to Mecca, died of grief on hearing the tragic fate of his son. But it was in vain that the caliphs made the *walis* or governors of Spain dependent on the viceroys of Africa; the suspicions and cruel policy of the masters of the east could not long preserve this distant province.

The progress of the Mussulman power, interrupted by Musa's recall, soon resumed its course, and already threatened all Christendom, when it was suddenly checked by the famous victory of Charles Martel at Poitiers (732) (v. § ix. of this ch.). This disaster was soon followed by a great revolution.

A bloody contest gave the sceptre of the east to a new dynasty (v. § v.), and a single descendant of the Ommiad caliphs, *Abderame* (Abd al-Rahman, *servant of the compassionate*), escaped the assassin's dagger (750). While a price was set upon his head by the wali of Africa, three sheiks

of Cordova came to offer him Spain, where his family had still many partisans. He crossed the strait with a thousand horsemen, defeated Youssef, the Abbasside governor (756), and being proclaimed *emir al-moumenin*, established at Cordova the seat of a second Mussulman empire. Still he did not dare to assume the sacred title of caliph, which his descendants did not take till a hundred and fifty years afterwards.

### § VIII.

#### CALIPHATE OF CORDOVA.—SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STATE OF THE ARABS IN SPAIN.

126. *Flourishing state of Spain under the dominion of the Arabs.*—Abderame and his successors made incredible efforts to confirm their power and reconstruct the Spanish nation, by binding the old inhabitants to the new, less by the force of arms than by the splendor with which they surrounded their throne. The evils of the invasion were repaired by a mild and humane government. The conquered people preserved their laws; were judged by their own tribunals, except when they had offended a Mussulman: the conquerors were not free from taxation, though it fell heaviest upon the conquered; but the latter were allowed the free exercise of their religion, provided they refrained from any public attack upon Mahometanism. Their principal churches had been converted into mosques, but many remained in the hands of the Christians, who were allowed even the use of bells, which had been every where forbidden in Africa and in Asia. Property was respected, and the Arabs took only the domains of the state or those tracts which the war had depopulated. Agriculture, under the protection of the new sovereigns, flourished once more throughout the peninsula. Several useful plants were

brought from the east, and taking root in a kindred soil, contributed to the wealth of the fields. The palm of the desert rose by the side of the products of the west. Spain became the most populous and industrious of European countries.

This brilliant civilization, which rendered the reigns of Haroun and Al-Mamoun so illustrious in Asia, cast a splendor equally brilliant upon Mussulman Europe. The emirs of Cordova were the worthy rivals of the masters of Bagdad. The arts, encouraged by the prodigal liberality, and even by the example of the sovereign, displayed all their magnificence: Abderame worked with his own hands on a magnificent mosque, which was supported on more than a thousand columns. The capital of the new empire became the sanctuary of literature and science. Seventy libraries and seventeen schools opened abundant sources of instruction. An academy of forty members discussed the great questions of philosophy and literature. Six great cities vied with the splendor of the capital: four hundred cities of inferior rank were enriched by commerce: upon the banks of the Guadalquivir alone there were twelve hundred villages surrounded by fertile fields.

127. *Beginning of the contest between the Arabs and Christians.*—Still this prosperity, which the imagination of poets has painted in such brilliant colors, could neither give life nor duration to the Mussulman dominion. The Moors were still strangers upon the soil of Spain. A few of the old inhabitants uniting their families with those of the Arabs, accepted the names of *Mozarabs*, or Arabs by adoption. But Christianity and Islamism were irreconcilable enemies, and the brilliant empire of the Mahometans was one day to yield to the poor and despised Christians.

Spain was thenceforth the theatre of that long and magnificent struggle in which, in despite of many reverses, the obstinate energy of the Christians gradually prevailed. Ab-

derame, the independent emir of Cordova, reigned thirty years with glory ; but already the second successor of Pelagio, *Alfonso I. the Catholic* (739-757), had conquered Galicia, and *Froila* had made himself master of Oviedo (759-768). Soon after, an expedition of Charlemagne, called in by the rebel governors, shook the Moorish empire in the north of the peninsula (778) ; and the powerful king of the Franks put garrisons in the cities near the Pyrenees. During the troubles which followed the death of the emir Hescham, *Alfonso the Chaste*, king of Asturia (797-835), advanced victoriously to the gates of Lisbon, and the feeble *Al-Hakem*, enraged at a success which broke in upon his indolent life, avenged himself by slaughtering his own subjects. Under *Abderame II.* (822-862), several places in Aragon proclaimed their independence : the Navarrese, free under Count Aznar (831), crossed the Ebro in arms (841), and soon took for king the brave *Garcias Ximenes* (860).

The divisions of the two infidel races, the Arabians proper and the Berbers of Africa, who had united during the first days of the conquest, favored the efforts of the Christians. *Ramire I.* (835-850), called to the throne by Alfonso I., won great renown by a brilliant victory over the Arabs near Logrono. The intrepid *Ordogno* (850-866), conqueror of the emir Mahomet I. (853), had penetrated as far as Salamanca, when a leader of brigands roused all the north of Spain and joined the Christians. *Alfonso the Great*, the worthy son of Ordogno, advanced triumphantly to the Tagus, repopled several Mussulman cities with Christians, and crowned his triumphs by the great victory of Zamora (901). But the reign of the great *Abderame III.*, who first took the title of Caliph of the West, suddenly checked the progress of the Christians (912).

128. *Glorious reign of the caliph Abderame III.*—This was the most brilliant period of the Mussulman dominion.

The revolted provinces were brought back to the yoke; the Christians, among whom divisions had crept in, after the death of Alfonso the Great (910) defended themselves with difficulty among their mountains; and the terrible battle of *Simancos*, which cost the caliph fifty thousand men, was but a momentary check to the progress of the Mussulmen (937). The Moorish empire was reconstructed: Abderame, conqueror of the Fatimites, was proclaimed caliph in Africa: his numerous fleets gave him the command of the Mediterranean, and the emperor of Constantinople sent to solicit his assistance against the caliphs of Bagdad. King *Ramire II.*, who ventured a new effort, lost two armies in a fatal expedition, and died of grief (950). The Christians, driven back in Galicia, were compelled to lay down their arms.

In the midst of these wars Abderame protected literature and the arts, and displayed all his grandeur and magnificence in the palace of Cordova, brilliant with marble and gold. And yet this great caliph, after fifty years of prosperity and glory, declared on his death-bed (961) that he had had scarce fourteen happy days in his life.

129. *Exploits of the vizier Al-Manzor.*—After this brilliant reign, degenerate caliphs buried in the magnificent palace of Abderame their indolent and voluptuous lives, and permitted the powerful empire which he had built up to fall to ruins. Heschem II., to reanimate the religious enthusiasm of the Arabs, by restoring the primitive rites of their worship in all their vigor, could think of no better means than tearing up the vineyards and proscribing the use of wine. The vizier *Mohammed-al-Manzor* (the victorious) resisted the decay with greater energy: he appealed to the brilliant memorials of the conquest, and cast, at least, the splendor of his own exploits over the last days of the caliphate. The Christians, driven back once more to their mountains, saw the Mussulman hero take Barcelona and Zamora, carry the strong city of Leon by

assault, plunder the revered church of St. James of Compostella, the patron of Christian Spain, and having conquered the Edressites, whose revolt he had crossed the straits to chastise, return to the other extremity of Spain, and pursue the Navarrese to the foot of the Pyrenees. Fifty years of triumphs had persuaded Al-Manzor that he was invincible: but the kings of Leon and Navarre, *Bermudas II.* and *Garcias III.*, and *Garcias Fernandes*, count of Castile, uniting for the defence of the Christian name after their long and fatal rivalries, met him at *Calatagnazar*, not far from Medina-Celi (996). It was Al-Manzor's fifty-seventh battle. For a whole day he contended manfully for the victory: but the Christians won it, and the emir died of despair.

130. *Decline and fall of the caliphate.*—Immediately after, the Mussulmen, exhausted by their own success, fell into a new lethargy, and the caliphate became a prey to general dissolution. The African tribes, called in to repeople the fields which all these wars had made desert, asserted their independence: the Walis, sovereigns in their provinces, refused to recognize the authority of the impotent caliph, and changed their governments into kingdoms. Nineteen states were formed out of the wrecks of the Mussulman empire, while twenty obscure pretenders followed in rapid succession upon the throne of Cordova. The dynasty of the Ommiades became extinct with *Hescham III.* (1031), and Cordova herself became the simple capital of a province.

## § IX.

### EXCURSIONS OF THE SARACENS IN FRANCE AND ITALY.

131. *Invasions of the Saracens in France checked by Charles Martel.*—Of all the countries of Europe, Spain alone

had been doomed to bear for centuries the yoke of the Moslems: but still the whole of southern Europe had to contend for a long period against their inroads and invasions. Even before the conquest of Spain had been completed, Musa (713), conqueror of Catalonia, had crossed the Pyrenees and ravaged Septimania, that ancient appendage of the kingdom of the Visigoths. Soon after, the emir Zama established a Mussulman colony at Narbonne, and then advanced towards the banks of the Garonne, where he was met and defeated by Eudes, duke of Aquitania, near Toulouse (721). Ambiza took Nismes, and sacked Carcassone; and then, says an Arabian writer, "the wind of Islamism began to blow from all sides against the Christians." Whole provinces were given up to their devastations. What escaped the sword fell a prey to the flames. The conquerors preserved only what they could carry with them. They had burnt the convents on the banks of the Rhone, the churches of Lyons, of Beaune, and Autun, when a still more terrible attack came to terrify Gaul and all Europe with her. Under the orders of the emir Abderame, an invading army crossed the Pyrenees, inundated all the provinces, crushed the troops of the duke of Aquitania, the indefatigable defender of southern Gaul, and advanced towards the Loire. But this great effort of the Mussulman invasion was broken by Charles Martel in the plains of *Poitiers* (732); and though there is doubtless much of the usual exaggeration in the accounts which have come down to us of this field, which the Arabs are said to have named the *pavement of martyrs*, yet it must ever be looked to with gratitude as the spot in which the long contest between the crescent and the cross for the sovereignty of Europe was irrevocably decided.

132. *Establishment of the Saracens in southern France.*—Christendom was saved: but Europe had still to defend its coasts. For a moment Marseilles was in the hands of the



**Mussulmen (739).** Under Al-Hakem began the great maritime expeditions, that resource of a restless spirit when invasions by land become too difficult or too hazardous. Fifteen thousand pirates issued from the ports of Spain, and established their seat in the island of Crete, from whence they carried terror through every sea (817). Though driven from Narbonne and forced to cross the Pyrenees by Pepin the Short, and defeated in Spain by Charlemagne, the Arabs reappeared again in France. Towards 889, twenty pirates landed in the gulf of St. Tropez in Provence, massacred the inhabitants of the neighboring village, and established themselves upon a rock which commanded the entrance of the gulf. This was the origin of the redoubtable port of Fraxinetto, which was enlarged and fortified till it became a kind of military republic; from which the Saracens extended their excursions throughout Provence and Dauphiny. At last the Hungarians appeared (924), and the Saracens, who had possession of all the passes of the Alps, united with them to ravage Helvetia and Valais, of which they remained masters for nearly twenty years. Then they fell upon northern Italy, burnt Acqui, and ravaged the surrounding country. Finally, after the death of Abderame III., Dauphiny was retaken, and Fraxinetto, in which the eighty years' plunder of the neighboring provinces had been heaped up, fell into the hands of the count of Provence (975): and thus fell the Mussulman power in the south of France.

133. *Invasion of Italy.—Conquest of Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily.*—At the same time, southern Italy was struggling against the still more redoubtable attacks of the Saracens of Africa. In 827 the Aglabites made a descent on Sicily, got possession of Agrigentum, of Enna (858), of Syracuse, which they destroyed (878), and founded a principality with Palermo for its capital. Called in as auxiliaries by the parties which divided the peninsula, sometimes by the Greeks

and sometimes by the Beneventans, they took post on Mount Gargano and upon the banks of the Garigliano, in order to command southern Italy (towards 860). With Sardinia and Corsica, they obtained command of the commerce of the western Mediterranean. From Tarentum and Bari they sent a fleet up the Tiber and burnt the suburbs of Rome. The city itself owed its safety to the energy of Pope Leo IV., who collected ships and repulsed the invaders. He then walled in the quarter of the Vatican, which took the name of *the Leonine city* (852). Less fortunate, John VIII. (872-882) was compelled to promise tribute in order to escape from their attacks, and the Italian provinces were ravaged again. It was only towards 915, that Pope John X., arming against them the Italian troops and the fleet of the Greek emperor, succeeded in driving them from their dangerous post of Garigliano. The loss of their possessions in Italy dates from that time : but the Zeirites still retained possession of Sardinia, and the Fatimites, conquerors of the Aglab dynasty, of Palermo, till the Normans came to snatch the whole of Sicily from the hands of the infidels (1006).

## CHAPTER VIII.

### CAROLINGIAN EMPIRE.

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#### SUMMARY.

§ I. Results of the accession of Pepin the Short.—Increase of the influence of the clergy.—Development of the royal power.—Field of May.—Expeditions of Pepin the Short against the Saracens, the Aquitanians, the Saxons, and the Lombards.

Reign of Charlemagne.—Conquest of Aquitania and Lombardy: wars of Saxony: contests with the Saracens: war of Bavaria: expedition against the Avars: Charlemagne emperor of the West: his institutions.

§ II. Beginning of the temporal power of the popes.—Rome renounces the supremacy of the Eastern Empire and is governed by the popes.—Quarrels of the pope and the Lombards: he solicits the aid of France.—Pepin liberates Stephen II.—Donation of the Pentapolis and duchy of Rome made by Pepin and confirmed by Charlemagne.

#### § I.

HISTORY OF THE REIGNS OF PEPIN AND CHARLEMAGNE.—EXTENT OF THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE.—CIVIL, POLITICAL, ECCLESIASTICAL, AND LITERARY INSTITUTIONS OF CHARLEMAGNE.

134. *Result of the accession of Pepin the Short.*—The accession of Pepin the Short to the throne of France (752)

was followed by great results. It had consummated the victory of the Austrasian or Germanic race over that of the Neustrians or old Franks. It contributed greatly, also, towards augmenting the power of the clergy, which had been weakened by the policy of Charles Martel. Pepin, raised to the throne under the ægis of the church, called in prelates to his coronation, and admitted them to the national assemblies of the *Field of May*, which in the beginning had been altogether composed of warriors. The Latin language too was introduced there, and being the language of the clergy, was one of the causes of their increasing influence. The royal authority, free as yet from the attacks of the feudal nobility, increased rapidly under the founders of the new dynasty, and recovered for a while from the debasement into which it had fallen under the first race. Military glory was its chief support, and the first Carolingians were constantly engaged in military excursions.

135. *Military expeditions of Pepin the Short.*—The reign of Pepin served as a prelude to that of Charlemagne. He prepared, by brilliant expeditions, the conquests which his son terminated so gloriously.

The hordes of the north, frightened rather than subdued by Charles Martel, took up their arms again at the accession of the new king, and drove the Franks beyond the Rhine, after having massacred the missionaries who had been sent to convert and civilize them (753). Pepin penetrates victoriously among the Frisons and Saxons, compels them to make peace, and makes them promise, as one of its conditions, that they will grant the Catholic priests full liberty to preach the gospel among them. On his return from these first campaigns, he receives the holy oil from the hands of Stephen II. (782), and declares himself protector of the sovereign pontiff against the ambition of the Lombards. He crossed the Alps twice to punish Astolphus, whom he had vainly

warned to break off hostilities against Rome, took from him the Campagna, Emilia, and the Pentapolis, and made a donation of them to the pope (754-756). This title of protector of the Holy See was soon after to win for Charlemagne a new crown.

At the same time, continuing the work begun by Charles Martel, Pepin gave the last blow to the Saracen dominion in the south of Gaul. Profiting by the contest between the Omniades and the Abbassides, he made himself master of Septimania and its capital, Narbonne, which had resisted seven years (752-759). Aquitania was still to be conquered. Duke Waifer had given an asylum to Grifon, a disinherited son of Charles Martel, and the province, still Roman by its institutions, its manners, and its language, repelled the German dominion with contempt. Pepin began a war of extermination against Waifer, which filled, during nine years, the most beautiful provinces of the south of France with ruin and blood. The death of the duke by assassination, which was soon followed by that of the Frank king, suspended the hostilities, which were to begin anew under his successors (760-768).

136. *Charles and Carloman.—Conquest of Aquitania.*—Pepin divided his states between his two sons, Charles and Carloman, giving Austrasia and Neustria to the first: to the second, Bavaria and the southern provinces of Gaul. A revolt of the Aquitanians drew upon them the arms of Charles, who subdued them in a single campaign (769). Soon after, taking advantage of his brother's death, he had himself proclaimed sole king of the Frank monarchy, without heeding the claims of his two nephews (771).

137. *Wars against the Saxons.*—The following year saw the beginning of that terrible war against the Saxons, which, though often suspended, filled the greater part of the reign of Charlemagne. The Franks, irritated by the massacre of

the Christians, in a city of Frisia, invaded the country of the Saxons, seized upon the fortress of Ehresburg, destroyed the ancient and venerated statue of Arminius (*hermansaüle*), and imposed upon their enemies a truce, which was soon broken by the Saxons, while Charlemagne was engaged in his two successful expeditions against the Lombards (775-776). Charles returning, pursued the Saxons into the depths of their forests, and compelled them to come in crowds to Paderborn and ask for baptism (777).

But a powerful chief, the brave *Witikind*, who had refused to make his submission and taken refuge in Scandinavia, profiting by the wars which called Charles into Spain, roused his countrymen to another effort. Charles returned, defeated them again, and calling in religion to the support of his arms, founded numerous abbeys and bishoprics among them. *Witikind* sought him out new enemies among the Sclavonians, and exasperated by the massacre of four thousand five hundred of his countrymen, kept up the contest several years longer with the energy of despair. Convinced at last of the uselessness of further resistance, the Saxon hero received baptism and submitted to the conqueror in the assembly of *Attigny* (785). Occasional revolts still called in from time to time the arms of Charlemagne: but the submission of the last Saxon chiefs at the diet of Salza (803), and the establishment of ten thousand Saxon families in Belgium and Holland, put an end to this long and sanguinary contest (804).

138. *Wars against the Lombards, Saracens, &c.*—*Charlemagne emperor*.—Great events had been accomplished elsewhere during this long and memorable war. *Desiderius*, king of the Lombards, had drawn upon himself the arms of the Frank king, by protecting his nephews and making war upon the pope. Charlemagne forced the passages of the Alps, renewed at Rome the donation which his father had

made to the Holy See, took Desiderius prisoner, shut him up in a convent, and had himself crowned king of Lombardy (774). Soon after, entering Spain at the invitation of a Mussulman governor, he subdued the Spanish marches beyond the Pyrenees, and preserved his conquest in spite of the defeat and death of his nephew, the famous paladin Orlando, in the pass of Roncesvalles (778). His victorious arms were dreaded by the whole of Europe. Having conquered the powerful duke *Tassillon* of Bavaria, he stripped him of his states (788), and sent his son Pepin beyond the Danube and the Theiss, to take from the Avars the plunder which they had heaped up in their camp. From the banks of the Elbe to the Oder, from the shores of the Black Sea to the Adriatic, all submitted to his power; and then the conqueror of so many nations, receiving at Rome from the hands of Leo III. the imperial crown, renewed that empire of the West, which but a little more than three centuries before, had fallen under the shock of the Barbarians.

139. *Institutions of Charlemagne.—His death.*—But a purer glory than that of arms belongs to this great man. He knew how to organize a coarse and undisciplined society by wise institutions, attacking barbarism by a skilful legislation, by a regular government, and by the development of civilization and knowledge. In his celebrated *Capitularia*, he regulates every part of the civil and religious administration; gives a firm and constant support to religious discipline, which had fallen into great disorder; establishes permanent magistracies for the first hearing of causes, and superior courts, composed of bishops or noblemen, to decide them, with a right of appeal to the king's council or the general assembly of the nation. These assemblies met twice a year, and discussed all the laws, without fettering the royal authority, which was supported by a strong civil and military organization, and surrounded by the splendor of a pompous

ceremonial borrowed from the traditions of the empire of the West. The officers of the palace, who had annihilated the power of the kings of the first race, became docile instruments in his hands. The emperor sees and directs every thing himself. He inspects his states in all their extent by temporary envoys (*missi dominici*), while local and permanent agents exercise the different functions of government in his name. At the same time he reanimates study by his own example, and calls forth some rays of knowledge in this dark age. Alcuin, his friend, preceptor, and minister, founds the Palatine school in the imperial palace, and establishes regular instruction in the monasteries, and in every city which was the residence of a bishop. Sublime efforts of a great genius, as eager for the conquests of the mind as for the conquests of arms, and which have won for his name the respect and the admiration of posterity.

But the day of revival had not yet come, and when Charlemagne died (814) at the height of his glory and his power, he carried with him the destinies of his brilliant empire, and in a few years every trace of his admirable institutions had disappeared.

## § II.

### ALLIANCE OF THE POPES AND CAROLINGIANS.—INCREASE OF THE STATES OF THE CHURCH.

140. *Rome throws off the supremacy of the Eastern Empire.*—With the aid of the first Carolingians began the development of the temporal power of the popes.

While the dominion of the Lombards extended over the greater part of Italy, Rome, with the Pentapolis and the Exarchate, had continued to acknowledge the authority of the



Empire of the East. The authority of the bishops of Rome, though great, was purely moral, and in exerting themselves against the Lombards in defence of the rights of the emperors, they were at the same time protecting Catholicism against the hated doctrines of Arius.

Such was the state of things in 726, when Leo the Isaurian issued his edict against the worship of images. The indignation of the Romans was universal. They broke the statues of the emperor, who had broken those of Christ and the saints, and *Gregory II.*, who filled the pontifical chair, addressed the emperor in language which sounds much more like a threat than a remonstrance. "Renounce," said he, "your audacious and fatal enterprise. Reflect, tremble, and repent. The converted Barbarians burn to avenge the persecuted church. If you persist in your designs, it is not upon us that the blood will fall." The emperor is said to have replied by attempting to have the pope assassinated. Then the Romans rose against him, and with the aid of the Venetians and the Lombards, drove away the Byzantine officers. The authority of the imperial prefect seemed to devolve upon the pope as his natural heir, and Rome established a republic, with her bishop at its head. The territories of the new state extended from Viterbo to Terracina, and from Narni to the mouth of the Tiber. Still the tie which had so long bound her to the East was not wholly broken. The new pope, *Gregory III.* (731), continued, as his predecessor had done before him, to respect the nominal sovereignty of the emperor, by using his name in public documents: but at the same time he hurled a decree of excommunication against all heretics, and in his view Leo was certainly of the number. All possibility of reconciliation was cut off by an attack of the Byzantine fleet, which exasperated the Romans to the utmost. A few years afterwards, a new pope (741), *Zacchary*, assumed his authority without asking the imperial

confirmation, and the temporal power of the popes over Rome was definitively established.

141. *Donation of the Pentapolis and duchy of Rome to the Holy See.*—But there could be no cordial union between the pope and the Lombards. The taint of Arianism was still upon them, and prevented them from amalgamating with the native Italians. They had won too large a part of the peninsula not to wish for the whole. And when the Greek emperor was rejected, they naturally sought to take his place. Luitprand had been disarmed by the eloquence of Gregory II., but Astolphus seized upon the exarchate and Pentapolis, and advanced pretensions upon Rome, which he supported by a powerful army (752). No succor could be had from Constantinople, and neither the pope nor the Romans were willing to accept the dominion of the Lombards. *Stephen II.* turned towards France. Pepin, who had just been consecrated by the pope, accepted the mission, defeated the Lombards, and made him a donation (756) of the Pentapolis and duchy of Rome, which became the patrimony of St. Peter. Charlemagne completed his father's work by confirming the donation, and received the imperial crown as a reward for his sanction of the temporal sovereignty of the Holy See (800).

Thus was consummated that fatal act which united the temporal and spiritual power in the same hands, and made the servants of Christ princes of this world. The appeal to the Franks was an act of self-preservation; the acceptance of supreme authority at Rome may have seemed a necessity of position; but it is vain to look for legality or justice in acts which began in violence and ended in fraud. The Frank monarch gave what his sword had given him, and the pope readily lent his divine office to human ends.

## CHAPTER IX.

### ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM.

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#### SUMMARY.

§ I. State of the empire at the death of Charlemagne.—Differences of interests, manners, and origin, among the people subjected to his dominion: this immediate cause of dissolution favored by the principle of divisions.—First division of the empire under Lewis the Debonair.—Weakness of this prince.—Nature of the contest between his sons.—Last reunion of the different parts of the empire under Charles the Fat.—Final division.—Beginning of the Norman invasion.

§ II. Danger of the kingdom of France, exposed to the attacks of the Normans, the Sclavonians, and the Saracens.—Ascendency of the family of the Dukes of France.—Accession of Eudes and Robert, to the detriment of Charles the Simple.—Power of Hugh the Great.—Raoul.—Lewis of Outremer.—Lothario.—Lewis V.—Accession of Hugh Capet.—State of royalty at the beginning of the third dynasty.—Reigns of Hugh Capet, Robert II., Henry I., Philip I.

§ III. Of the feudal system: its origin and its development.—Multiplication of beneficiary estates.—Diminution of allodial.—Commendation of persons and lands.—Relations between lord paramount and vassal.—Progress of feudalism favored by social disorders and troubles.—It soon loses its primitive character and becomes an instrument of oppression.—State of feudalism in the different countries of Europe.—Comparison between the feudal system in France and in Germany.

## § I.

HISTORY OF CHARLEMAGNE'S SUCCESSORS TO THE REIGN OF LEWIS OF OUTREMER.—CAUSES OF THE DECAY OF THE CAROLINGIANS AND DISMEMBERMENT OF THEIR EMPIRE.—DIFFERENCES OF RACE AND INTEREST BETWEEN THE PEOPLE OF THE EMPIRE.—SEPARATION OF THE KINGDOMS AND PROVINCES.—BEGINNING OF FEUDALISM.

142. *State of the empire at the death of Charlemagne.—Causes of dissolution.*—The edifice which Charlemagne had constructed so laboriously, required his powerful hand to sustain it. The moment that was removed, it fell, and all the quicker for its magnitude. A double cause of dissolution and ruin menaced this vast empire, so wondrously built up, in the midst of the people who had divided the west among themselves. One dominion had been extended over nations differing in their manners, their laws, their religion, and their language: the Mussulmen of the north of Spain; the half converted pagans of Saxony; the Italians, compelled to renounce their nationality; the Franks of the south, jealous of the supremacy of the Franks of the north; the Germans, rivals and soon enemies of the Franks; all aspired to an independence which the subjection of a few years had not been able to efface from their memories. If the exploits of the son of Pepin had stopped for ever the German invasion, other Barbarians were gathering along the distant frontiers of the Carolingian empire: the Danes, the Slavonians, the Saracens, waited only the death of the great emperor to take back with usury the tributes which he had imposed upon some of their tribes; and Charlemagne himself had seen with tears (ch. x., no. 157) the signs of this new invasion. To stifle all these germs of internal division, to repulse with

energy the repeated efforts of the Barbarians, to sustain an incessant contest both within and without, was a task that was soon to crush the unskilful and divided heirs of the throne of Charlemagne.

143. *Lewis the Debonair.*—*Division of the empire.*—*Lewis the Debonair* (814–840), initiated in all the great designs of his father, paralyzed them all by his weakness. Faithful to the disastrous principle of division, he divides the power among his sons, thus giving, of his own accord, leaders to all these nations which asked nothing but the opportunity for beginning the contest anew. From that time the history of the Carolingian empire is a history of the quarrels of races, embittered by the personal quarrels of their princes. No sooner had the division of Aix la Chapelle (817) made *Lothario* heir of the imperial dignity, *Pepin* king of Aquitania, and *Lewis* king of Bavaria, than *Bernard*, Charlemagne's grandson, whom he himself had named king of Italy, protested, sword in hand, and in the name of the cities and princes of the peninsula, against a decision which made him his cousin's dependent. Conquered and condemned to lose his eyes, he died from the consequences of this barbarous punishment, and Italy soon passed into the hands of *Lothario*. *Lewis*, touched with remorse at the hapless fate of his nephew, did public penance for his crime, as *Theodosius* had done for the massacre of Thessalonica. But the humiliations to which he subjected himself at *Attigny*, before the assembly of the Franks, served only to degrade the imperial dignity and shake his throne (822). Insurrections broke out in every part of the empire. The Obotrites, the Sorabians, and Sclavonians of the east attack *Lewis* of Bavaria; the Bulgarians invade Pannonia; the Basques resume their liberty; Brittany is in commotion: and the imprudent emperor excites new troubles and awakens the hatred of his family, by annulling his first division, in order to give Alle-

mania, Suabia, and Burgundy to *Charles*, the son of a second wife, Judith of Bavaria (829). Abandoned by his army, dethroned by his sons (830), betrayed a second time by his soldiers at the *Field of Lies* (833), he is at last ignominiously degraded by Lothario, who seeks to build up the imperial power to his own advantage.

Lewis and Pepin, alarmed at Lothario's ambitious projects, liberate their father, and re-establish him solemnly in the diet of Thionville (835). But he soon draws on himself new misfortunes by new faults. He strips the sons of Pepin, who had died in 838, to give their inheritance to Charles, and reduces the dominions of his eldest son to Italy. Soon after, yielding to his menaces, he makes a final division, in which Lothario receives Germany and Italy, Charles nearly the whole of France, Lewis Bavaria and Provence. But no permanent peace could arise from these arbitrary divisions, which clashed with the interests of the princes, and still more with that of their people. Lewis of Germany, stripped for his brothers, reclaimed his dominions: Aquitania proclaimed under the name of Pepin II., the eldest son of her king Pepin, and the death of Lewis the Debonair broke the feeble tie which held these discordant elements together.

144. *Contests of the sons of Lewis the Debonair.—Treaty of Verdun.*—The war continued between the Franks and Charles the Bald, Aquitania and Pepin II., the Germans and Lewis the Germanic, the Italians and Lothario, who had worn for twenty years the imperial crown, and claimed the supremacy over all the princes of his race. The rivals met in the plains of *Fontenay* (841). That terrible day in which Lewis the Germanic and Charles the Bald fought against Lothario and Pepin, and which cost, it is said, the lives of nearly a hundred thousand men, saw the unity of the empire broken for ever. The conquerors, Lewis and Charles, strengthened their alliance by the act of Strasburgh, and

the oath pronounced in two languages, that it might be understood by both armies, showed for the first time how completely France had become separated from Germany (842). Soon after, the general exhaustion brought about the treaty of Verdun, which only consecrated the results of a division which had already been completed. Lothario received for his share Italy with the countries between the Alps, the Rhone, the Soane, the Moselle, and the Rhine, which took the name of Lotharingia: Charles received Neustria, which with Aquitania formed the kingdom of France. Lewis preserved Germany (843). The imperial sceptre, which seemed destined to control and unite all these different powers, was for a long time little else than an object of discord, passing successively from Italy to France, and from France to Germany. Pepin, abandoned by Lothario, defended himself twenty years in Aquitania, with a thousand alternations of reverse and success; often aided by the Normans and the Saracens, and always sustained by the hatred of the Aquitanians for the Frank dominion. He fell, at last, a victim to treachery (863), and expiated his courageous resistance by perpetual captivity.

145. *History of the Carolingians during the reign of Charles the Bald.*—The divisions did not end with the dismemberment of Verdun. The Aglabite Saracens, called in, in turns, by the Greeks and the Lombards of Beneventum, seized upon Sicily (827 et sqq.), established themselves in Sardinia (about 840), and menaced Rome and the southern provinces of Italy, until they were repulsed by *Lewis II.*, Lothario's son and successor in the imperial crown (855). This prince had the kingdom of Italy, while his brothers *Charles* and *Lothario II.* established themselves, the first in Burgundy, the second in Lotharingia or Lorraine. *Lewis II.* passed all his reign in contending against the invasions of the Saracens and the revolts of the Lombard

dukes, who, masters of Beneventum, Naples, Capua, and Salerno, divided all the south of the peninsula into independent principalities.

Lewis the Germanic was more successful in his contests with the Bohemians, Sorabians, and Moravians, whom the exploits of his three sons, *Lewis* of Saxony, *Carloman*, and *Charles the Fat*, compelled, in 874, to take the oath of fidelity. In the kingdom of Charles the Bald, a contest had begun with those terrible Northmen, who were to take their part in the inheritance of Charlemagne, after having laid it waste with fire and sword (v. ch. x. § i.). At the same time Brittany was formed into a separate kingdom under Nomenoé, whose son Erispré was acknowledged by Charles the Bald, still engaged in the wars of Aquitania (851). These were scarcely ended, by the defeat and captivity of Pepin, when the death of Lothario's three sons threw open to the ambitious king of France, Lorraine, half of Burgundy, and the imperial sceptre. Charles hastened to be crowned at Rome, in spite of the threats of his eldest brother, Lewis the Germanic, who invoked the privilege of his birthright.

Lewis died in 876, but his sons Lewis of Saxony and Carloman of Bavaria revived his claims, and invaded Lorraine and Italy. Charles the Bald, surrounded on all sides by dangers which his insatiable ambition had excited, assailed by his nephews, harassed by the Normans from without, and within by the nobles, who having grown powerful amid these dissensions, had resolved to make their governments and dignities hereditary (capitulary of Kiersy on the Oise) (877), died on the frontiers of Italy, leaving to his son *Lewis the Stammerer* an authority barely recognized in a few provinces.

146. *Lewis the Stammerer and his sons.—Charles the Fat.—Dissolution of the Carolingian empire.*—Lewis the Stammerer, in a reign of eighteen months, completed the ruin of



the royal authority, by lavishing his father's treasures upon the nobles, and granting them the royal domains as hereditary property. At his death, his sons, *Lewis III.* and *Carloman*, had to contend with the Normans, whom they defeated in several battles, with *Lewis* of Saxony, who wrested from them Lorraine, and with *Boson*, son-in-law of the emperor *Lewis II.*, who had himself proclaimed king of Provence and Burgundy by the bishops, and kept his crown in spite of all the efforts of the two kings, who died shortly after (882-884). The old domain of *Lewis* the Germanic beyond the Rhine passed to the hands of *Charles the Fat*, sole heir of his brothers *Lewis* of Saxony and *Carloman* of Bavaria. *Charles*, sovereign of Italy, Saxony, Bavaria, and Suabia, filled in 881 the imperial throne, which had been vacant since the death of *Charles the Bald*. Finally proclaimed king of France after the death of the two sons of *Lewis* the Stammerer (884) to the prejudice of *Charles the Simple*, posthumous son of this prince, he saw himself at the head of an empire almost as vast as that of *Charlemagne*. But the attacks of the Sclavonians, Normans, and Saracens, soon showed how vain a possession such authority was in such feeble hands. Paris, besieged by the Normans, was valiantly defended by *Eudes* and *Robert*, sons of *Robert the Strong*, duke of France. *Charles* was called to their aid, but instead of facing the enemy, bought their retreat by money (886), though at the head of a superior force. Next year he was solemnly deposed at the *diet of Tribur*.

This was the signal of a general dissolution of the Carolingian empire, upon whose ruins rose the kingdoms of Germany, France, Italy, the two Burgundys, Lorraine, and Navarre.

## § II.

ORIGIN AND FREEBLE BEGINNING OF THE CAPETIAN DYNASTY  
IN THE MIDST OF FEUDAL FRANCE.—HUGH, ROBERT, HEN-  
RY I., PHILIP I.

147. *Kings of France.—Accession of Eudes, Robert, and Raoul, to the disadvantage of Charles the Simple.*—The kingdom of France, reduced to narrow limits and imperfectly re-organized after so many rude shocks, seems incapable of contending against the terrible pirates of the north, the Sclavonians on the east, and the Saracens on the south. The Normans carry off bands of captives from every quarter, and overrun the country unresisted. While the degenerate descendants of Charlemagne find no other way of repulsing the invasion but by tributes and subsidies, the country is compelled to organize in its own defence; the people grouping around the principal lords and accepting their authority in exchange for their protection. One family above the others, the family of the counts of Paris, whose fortunes recall those of the Heristalls, takes advantage of the weakness of the successors of Charlemagne to govern in their stead. The nobles refusing to obey Charles the Simple, as yet hardly eight years old, call to the throne *Eudes*, count of Paris, who had saved the capital; but while he is engaged in contests with the Normans and the Aquitanians, who had again revolted, *Charles III. the Simple*, is proclaimed by the archbishop of Rheims (893), and *Eudes*, after a civil war of three years, is compelled to share the throne with him. He dies soon after; and the feeble Charles, unable to sustain so great a burthen, and stripped of Normandy and Brittany by the famous Rollo (v. No. 158), vainly strives to seize the vacant inheritance of his cousin Louis the Child in Germany (v. No. 170),

and soon sees himself threatened in his own kingdom by the revolt of the nobles, who proclaim in his place *Robert*, the brother of *Eudes* (923). He defeats *Eudes*, who falls in the battle; but is defeated himself by *Hugh the Great*, his rival's son (923), who, choosing rather to give than to wear the crown, places upon the throne *Raoul*, Duke of Burgundy; while *Charles* is removed from prison to prison, the sport of his vassals, to die at last at the castle of *Peronne* (929). *Raoul* is compelled to take part as ally of the duke of France in the disputes between this powerful vassal and his brother nobles.

148. *The last Carolingians.—Accession of Hugh Capet.*—At his death, the throne remained vacant for several months (936). At last *Hugh the Great* proclaimed a Carolingian, *Lewis of Outremer*, son of *Charles the Simple*, whom he recalled from England. But his attempts to resume some portion of the authority which belonged to his title, were punished by a long imprisonment in the castle of *Laon*, last of the possessions of the kings of France. The intervention of the pope and emperor of Germany restored him to liberty (950); and at his death, his son *Lothario* obtained the crown from *Hugh* as price of the investiture of *Aquitania*. This powerful vassal bequeathed, on dying, Burgundy to his eldest son; and to the second, *Hugh Capet*, the county of Paris and duchy of France. *Lothario's* reign was long, and filled up by disputes with the emperor of Germany. The royal authority continued to languish in his hands, as it had done in that of his immediate predecessors. His son *Lewis V. the Idle* merely ascended the throne (986–987) to leave it at his death to the new dynasty of the Capets.

149. *State of royalty at the beginning of the third dynasty.*—But although the most powerful of the French lords had exchanged the title of duke of France for that of king, he had not changed the nature of his authority. He was no

more powerful as king than he had been as duke, and those of the great vassals who consented to acknowledge his honorary supremacy never ceased to consider him as their peer. It was long before the new dynasty, which, like all the other great families, depended for its influence upon the extent and wealth of its domains, could exercise any of the real functions of royalty.

The sovereign power in France had in reality been parcelled out into as many fractions as there were great lordships : and had neither vigor nor action till the feudal chain was broken by the development of the commons, which established new relations between royalty and the nation for the mutual strength and protection of both.

150. *Reign of Hugh Capet, Robert, Henry I., and Philip I.*—The reign of the first of the Capetians recognized by a small portion of nobles was filled with his contests with *Charles of Lorraine*, uncle and lawful heir of Lewis V. Charles would seem to have possessed some energy, for he gained possession of Laon and Rheims ; but his success was of no avail against treachery, and the war ended in his captivity (991). Meanwhile the great vassals, without troubling themselves about the authority of the king, desolated France by perpetual rivalries. This period of dissension and anarchy continued throughout the reign of the good king *Robert II.*, son of Hugh Capet (996–1031), which was troubled by domestic discord and the terror of the whole nation at the approach of the year *thousand*, which was looked to as the end of the world. After the death of this prince, whom his piety and love of justice had endeared to all France, *Henry I.* (1031–1060) had to contend first against his brother Robert, whom he conquered at last with the aid of Robert the Devil, duke of Normandy ; and then the counts of Burgundy and Blois, whom he subdued with the assistance of the count of Anjou. After this, he was attacked by *William the Bastard*,

the new duke of Normandy, and compelled to accept a disadvantageous peace while the kingdom was a prey to all the horrors of the plague, famine, and private wars. These last, the church endeavored to stop by the *Truce of God*, which, under penalty of excommunication, forbade all hostilities during Advent, Lent, and every week from Thursday evening to Sunday evening.

The reign of *Philip I.* (1060–1108) was distinguished by great events in which he had scarcely any part. The conquest of England by the Duke of Normandy, that of Italy by some Norman knights, the establishment of the kingdom of Portugal, and the first crusade (v. chs. x., xii., xviii.), were all accomplished while the king of France, indifferent to the glory of his cotemporaries, was abandoning himself to shameful passions, or submitting to be disgracefully beaten by his vassals. After an unsuccessful contest with the count of Flanders (1071), he was menaced in his capital by William the Conqueror of England, and only saved by his death: and becoming at last an object of contempt to all, was declared unworthy to wear the crown.

### § III.

GENERAL IDEA OF FEUDALISM IN EUROPE, AND PARTICULARLY IN FRANCE.—IMPORTANCE OF LANDED PROPERTY.—ALLODIUMS AND FIEFS.—INHERITANCE.—RESPECTIVE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF THE HOLDERS OF FIEFS.—FEUDAL HIERARCHY.—ROYALTY.

151. *Of the feudal system.—Its origin.*—The elevation of the Capetian dynasty marks the epoch during which feudalism, in its full power, prevails throughout France and the greater part of Europe. The creation of hereditary benefices,

granted with certain recognized obligations, had laid the first foundations of feudalism in the landed aristocracy (v. ch. iv. § i.). Benefices, in the beginning, were conferred by the sovereign himself, establishing relations of direct subordination between him and his subjects. Soon the subjects themselves, anxious to form similar ties of dependence for their own advantage, began to grant parts of their own domains to inferior vassals, on the same conditions on which they had received them. Thus were established the different degrees of the feudal hierarchy. But it owed its development more than all to the constant shocks of a long period of disorder, which led to the diminution of the class of freemen, and the disappearance of free or allodial property, the surest guarantee of personal freedom. In a society in which the sovereign power, unable to secure the rights of individuals, was in most cases compelled to let every man defend himself, independence was full of danger for the weak, and served only to expose them to the aggressions of the strong. The necessity of securing an effectual protection introduced the custom of *commendation*. The holder of a small allodium, renouncing his sterile and perilous rights, surrendered his lands to some noble, from whom he received them again as a benefice, taking the oath of fidelity and homage, binding himself to follow him in his wars, to serve him at the risk of fortune and life, and pay certain *fines* of more or less extent. In exchange for this, the lord promised him justice and protection, an asylum in danger, and defence sword in hand. Such were the principal relations which feudal homage established between sovereign and vassal. (For a fuller development v. supplement.)

152. *Development of feudalism.—Alteration of its primitive character.*—Feudalism, repressed in France by the strong hand of Charlemagne, gained strength after his death, and was rapidly developed amid the endless wars which arose

from the divisions and dismemberment of the empire, during which the sovereign had constant need of the aid and support of his vassals. At length not only lands but dignities became hereditary (capitulary of Kiersy, 877): the impoverished kings having no longer any domains to distribute, granted the civil and military offices under the title of fiefs, and thus the whole social system was changed.

But this excessive development changed also the original character of feudalism. Instead of securing faithful servants to the king, the lord paramount, it raised him powerful rivals; and the lords, masters of their government to perpetuity, powerful by the extent of their domains and the number of their vassals, considered themselves as petty sovereigns, and took but little thought of a supremacy which they could resist with impunity. The royal sovereignty seemed annihilated; and there seemed to be scarcely any difference between the power of the great feudal lords and that of a king who had no real authority but a suzerain's over the vassals on his own domains.

If we consider the relations between vassals and their rear-vassals, we shall acknowledge that feudalism, rising from the wants of society, rendered real service by developing generous ideas, consecrating good faith, and preserving a certain degree of discipline. But still even here it often wandered from its aim. The feudal lords disregarded the rights of their inferiors, which no superior influence compelled them to respect. The inferior suzerains, instead of becoming the protectors, were the tyrants of their vassals, who were reduced to the condition of *serfs*, and groaned under a long and bitter oppression.

153. *State of feudalism in the different countries of Europe.*—The feudal system was established with great regularity in England after the Norman conquest, and Scotland borrowed it from England. The Normans, who carried it

with them into southern Italy, found that it had already been introduced there by the Lombards of Beneventum. It seems to have been introduced into the northern provinces of Spain at the same time as in the south of France. In the last, however, free estates were numerous at all periods. In Aragon it received a full development: but less in Castile and Portugal, where fiefs were little used. Neither did it take a strong hold in the north and east of Europe, in Sweden, Denmark, Bohemia, and Hungary. In France and Germany its reign was more general, although it led in each country to very different results. In France, where it seemed upon the point of annihilating the royal authority, a bitter contest soon began, in which the latter was almost always victorious. In Germany, the sovereign authority, united and strong at the accession of the Saxon dynasty, when it was so weak and divided in France, sustained itself for some time with all the splendor of the imperial dignity, and the emperor disposed according to his own good pleasure of the high offices which in France had become hereditary. But when royalty began to regain strength in France, it had already lost it beyond the Rhine: and we shall see the turbulence of the German princes, the contests of the priesthood and the empire, and the disastrous wars of Italy, prepare the way for that independence and supremacy of the great feudal lords, which reached its height in the thirteenth century, and reduced the emperor to the state of the mere head of a confederation, while the kings of France were marching with rapid strides towards absolute power.



## CHAPTER X.

### INVASIONS OF THE NORTHMEN.

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#### SUMMARY.

§ I. Religion and manners of the Northmen.—Sea-kings.—First excursions of the Northmen, and first establishment on the different coasts of Europe.—Their expeditions against the Carolingian empire.—Their stations on the French coast.—Irruptions into the provinces.—Neustria granted to Rollo.—Foundation of the duchy of Normandy.

§ II. Youth of William the Conqueror.—He disputes Harold's right to the throne of England.—*Battle of Hastings*.—William crowned at Westminster.—Sequel of the conquest.—Desperate struggle.—William's cruelty.—Massacres of Northumberland.—The outlaws.—*Organisation of the Normans after the conquest*.—Introduction of the feudal system.—Division of lands among the conquerors.—Oppression of the conquered.—Game laws, &c.

§ III. State of Italy.—First appearance of the Normans in Italy.—Expedition of the sons of Tancred of Hauteville.—Conquest of Puglia.—Arrival of Robert Guiscard and Roger.—Conquest of Sicily and Southern Italy.—Exploits of Guiscard.—Union of the county of Sicily and Norman duchies of Italy.

Roger II., first king of the two Sicilies.—Wars against the Greeks and Germans.—Contest between William II. and Frederic Barbarossa.—Marriage of Henry of Germany and Constance of Sicily.—War between Henry and Tancred.—William III., Tancred's son, dethroned.—The kingdom of the two Sicilies united to the empire.

## § I.

## INVASIONS OF THE NORTHMEN IN THE NINTH AND TENTH CENTURIES.—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NORTHMEN IN NEUSTRIA.

154. *Religion of the Northmen.*—The Northmen came originally from Cimbria and Scandinavia, the Denmark, Sweden, and Norway of modern Europe. They sprang from the same race with the Franks and Anglo-Saxons, whose language they understood; but the conversion of the latter to Christianity, had broken the ties which had bound them to their Scandinavian brethren. The Northmen, in the eighth century, still faithful to their ancient traditions, adored *Odin*, the legislator of these regions, whom they had made their god. According to the Scandinavian mythology, *Odin*, and *Frigga* his wife, live in a citadel inaccessible to the attacks of the evil genii. His son *Thor*, who next to him is the strongest of gods and men, is armed with iron gauntlets and a club, with which he crushes all his enemies. *Thor* is the first of the *Ases*, the divine race of *Odin*, who preside over the destinies of men, sustain the warrior's courage, and inspire those warlike songs which the bards sing at the banquets of heroes. *Odin* sends into the midst of battle the virgin *Walkyries*, to select the warriors that are to perish, and guide them across the narrow bridge which leads to heaven, and of which the rainbow is the visible part. It is they also who pour out the flowing cup of beer and hydromel; while the miraculous wild-boar, which, after having nourished the *Wal-halla*, comes to life again every evening, is served up for the feast. Cowards, on the contrary, return to the empire of death, where the palace of Anguish, the table of Hunger, and the couch of Leanness await them.

155. *Manners of the Northmen.*—*Sea-kings.*—This war-

like religion inspired the Northmen with contempt for life and invincible bravery. War and warlike exercises filled up the whole of their adventurous existence. To contend in feats of strength and agility, to climb steep rocks, run along the gunwale of a skiff, jump lightly from oar to oar with the regular movement of the rowers, throw two javelins together, fight with either hand with equal dexterity, swim across an arm of the sea, subdue a rebellious steed, spring upon him at every gait, drink beer in the skull of an enemy ; such were the games of the pirate from whom death drew nothing but a smile, and for whom the field of battle had all the charms of a young bride. Scattered along the Scandinavian coast under a cold and sombre sky, on an arid and ungrateful soil which scarcely gave its inhabitants food, the Northmen waited in their smoky cabins the end of the long winter months. As soon as spring opened the sea to their ships, the youngest sons of their sovereign, whom the right of primogeniture excluded from the paternal inheritance, set forth with the boldest companions to seek kingdoms for themselves. The same chief was their commander when they landed. They saluted him with the name of king : but it was only in battle, or on the sea, that he was king. For in the banquet they sat in circle, and the beer-horn passed from hand to hand without distinction of first or last. *The king of the sea, or the king of the fight*, was followed with fidelity and obeyed with zeal ; for he was renowned as the bravest of the brave, as one who had never slept under a boarded roof, or drunk by the side of a sheltered fire. The Northmen cared but little whither they were going. They launched their light barks, and abandoned them to the guidance of the winds. Sometimes they set forth during a storm, sure of coming upon their prey unawares, and steered cheerfully towards plunder under the protection of the tempest. Such were these redoubtable pirates, who after having terrified all Europe by their ravages

and frightful cruelty, became the founders of vast and powerful states.

156. *First excursions of the Northmen.*—Under the name of *Varegues*, they laid at Novgorod and Kief the first foundations of the Russian empire (862): Iceland fell into their power in 874; and in the British Isles they renewed all the terrors of the Saxon invasion (v. ch. iii.). In Ireland (towards 796), they founded or conquered the cities of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick. They invaded the Orcades, the Hebrides, and Shetland. Their depredations extended soon to Spain, where the Mussulmen defended themselves vigorously, though the distance, perhaps, was their most effectual protection. But the Carolingian states, which three hundred leagues of sea-coast exposed to every attack, became the chief object of their enterprises. Their attacks were retarded for a while by the genius of Charlemagne. Numerous vessels were equipped along the coasts, and the beacon of Caligula raised again to lighten the sea. But one day (808), near a port of the Mediterranean, Charlemagne descried the long-boats of the Northmen and wept. "Do you know," said he, to his attendants, "why I weep so bitterly? It certainly is not for myself that I fear. But I am deeply grieved that those pirates should have come so near the coast during my lifetime; and still more, when I think of all that they will do to my children and their people." In fact, his death was the signal for a second invasion of France: and the descents of the Northmen became frequent, or rather continued till their final establishment in Neustria.

157. *Enterprises of the Northmen against the Carolingian empire.*—Charlemagne's successors called the barbarians of their own accord, and were imprudent enough to employ them in their private wars. From 830, a band established themselves near the mouth of the Loire in the isle of Her which took the name of Noirmoutier from a monar

which they had burned on landing. This was the first of those *stations* from which they set out to ascend the rivers, and where they deposited their booty. Another island which was ceded to them by the first Lothario, at the mouth of the Scheldt, became one of their most formidable retreats, and was enriched with the spoils of western France. *Hastings*, who was born a Frank, and had fled from home and turned pirate, ascended the Loire, plundered Amboise, possessed himself of Nantes (843), and extended his devastations into Italy. Soon Mans, Orleans, Angers, fell into the hands of the Northmen. In the south of France, the banks of the Charente, the Garonne, and Adour were ravaged; and Bordeaux was sacked three times. Rouen had been burnt in 841, and the pirates had stationed themselves in the island of Oyssel. Four years afterwards, *Regnar Lodbrock* advanced to the walls of Paris; and finding them defenceless, plundered the city. Charles the Bald not daring to fight, bought his retreat with a large sum of money. The Northmen swore by their gods and their arms, that they would never return: but in twelve years they reappeared in still greater numbers, and burnt the church of St. Genevieve (857). The brave duke of France, *Robert the Strong*, who had several times repulsed their bands from the banks of the Loire, fell in resisting a new invasion (866). At the same time, Lorraine and the banks of the Rhine were the scenes of frightful devastation. At length in 885, Siegfried appeared before Paris with seven hundred boats. Gozlin the bishop, and Eudes count of Paris, defended intrepidly the two wooden bridges which united the Island of the City to the shore. But Charles the Fat fearing to fight the Barbarians, though superior to them in number, concluded a shameful treaty (886). (v. No. 146.)

158. *Foundation of the duchy of Normandy by Rollo.*—  
Meanwhile the Northmen, gorged with booty and weary of

plunder, began to demand lands and domains instead of tribute. Rorik, one of the pirates of the Scheldt, had obtained the duchy of Frisia from Charles the Bald (870). A new chief, *Rollo*, ascended the Seine and possessed himself of Rouen. These wanderers, driven from their own homes by the barren soil and severe climate, needed somewhere another home which they could call their own. Charles the Simple saw that this was the only way of securing Paris and his kingdom from new assaults, and concluded at St. Clair on the Ept (912) a treaty with Rollo, by which he gave him his daughter Gisela in marriage, and the city of Rouen with the western part of Neustria for her dower. Rollo became a Christian and duke of Normandy, and in this direction the ravages of the Northmen ceased. The churches and abbeys which had been destroyed, were rebuilt; the ramparts of the cities repaired; a severe police repressed robbery, and the country from a desert became a rich and flourishing province. Brittany, too, was granted to him by subinfeudation, to revert, like Normandy, under certain circumstances to the king of France.

## § II.

### CONQUEST OF GREAT BRITAIN BY WILLIAM.—BATTLE OF HASTINGS.—DIVISION OF THE CONQUERED TERRITORY.

159. *Youth of William the Conqueror.*—The Northmen established in Neustria by victory and conquest, were none the less subject to the influence of France. The feudal institutions were confirmed in the new fief under the sons of Rollo: the French clergy exercised a powerful influence over the converted Barbarians, and Normandy in a few years became a French province.

Still the Northmen had not wholly lost their adventurous spirit, and Neustria long served them as a great and powerful *station*; from whence, in the eleventh century, the founders of the kingdom of Naples set forth on their hazardous expedition, and soon afterwards the conquerors of England.

The sixth duke of Normandy, Robert the Liberal, after having conquered French Vexin and subdued his rebellious vassals, set out barefoot on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, leaving the duchy to his natural son *William* (1037). The minority of the new duke was protected by the clergy, who resolutely opposed the "Truce of God" to the constant broils and dissensions of those troubled times. William soon showed that the energy of his ancestors was not to slumber in his veins. At twenty he passed for the most redoubtable knight in France; "and it was, say his contemporaries, a beautiful and a terrible thing to see him master his steed, brandishing his sword, dazzling your eyes with his buckler, and threatening with his helmet and javelins." He already gave proof, too, of that cold-blooded cruelty of the northern pirate. Some men of the garrison of Alençon had reproached him with the obscurity and humiliation of his mother; William took the city by assault, had the hands and feet of all its defenders cut off, and their bloody limbs thrown over the wall: a worthy prelude to the implacable vengeance of the tyrant of the Anglo-Saxons.

160. *William's invasion of England.—Battle of Hastings.*—Edward the Confessor, king of England, died without children (1066), naming Harold son of Count Godwin as the worthiest to succeed him. But William had already made Harold swear that he would aid him in gaining the throne of England for himself, and now claimed it in virtue of the extorted oath and a pretended promise of Edward. Harold prepared himself for a vigorous defence, both against his rival and against his own brother Tosti, who had come

against him with the assistance of Harold king of Norway. In the first battle against some troops that had been assembled in haste, the king of the North defeated the English and crossed a marsh on the bodies of those who were drowned in their flight. Harold himself now advanced to meet him, and was near taking him by surprise. Before the battle began, Harold offered his brother peace and his ancient honors. "But what for my ally?" said Tosti. "Seven feet of English ground, or, as he is taller than other men, perhaps a little more." This time the English were victorious, but a more redoubtable enemy had already landed with a banner consecrated by the pope, and an army of bold adventurers, eager for conquest and spoil. William's foot slipped as he landed. "Bad sign," cried his companions. "'Tis God who gives me possession of this soil, by making me seize it with both hands." He offered Harold to refer their dispute to the pope. The Saxon refused, and the two armies met at Hastings. The battle was long doubtful. Harold fighting gallantly at the head of his countrymen, and William leading his disciplined bands with the skill of an experienced captain. At last an arrow pierced the brain of the Saxon king, and his army fled. The enemy pursued all night (1066).

161. *Sequel of the conquest.—Desperate contests.*—William hastened to London, where Edgar, king Edward's nephew, submitted without opposition. "In the year of the Lord, 1067, the duke of Normandy entered London in the midst of the enthusiasm of the clergy and the people, who saluted him as king. He was crowned by Elred, archbishop of York: then the nobles took the oath of allegiance, and after having received hostages, he found himself surely possessed of the throne and dreaded by all those who had made pretensions to the royal power." To secure the papal sanction, he sent rich presents to Rome in return for the consecrated banner which had triumphed at Hastings.



At the same time, he levied enormous tributes upon the Saxon population ; and made such a distribution of the spoils among his companions, "that neatherds and varlets became rich and gentlemen."

Still the conquest was not completed. The territory won at Hastings was scarcely a fourth of the kingdom. For seven years more William had to contend against the energetic resistance of the Saxon race, less to crush rebellions, than to subdue people that still maintained their independence. When he returned to Normandy to celebrate his triumph at Rouen by splendid festivals, the lieutenants whom he left treated the conquered people with insupportable tyranny. The irritation became universal. The Saxons of Devonshire, who had given refuge to the family of Harold, gave the signal for insurrection by repulsing the Norman officers, whom they called *William's brigands*, sword in hand ; and the king was compelled to return in haste, in order to suppress a formidable revolt.

The next year Edgar, escaping from the hands of his rival, raised the Scotch clans and called the Irish and Danes to his aid, while Harold's son defeated the Normans near Bristol. For two years, the conquest seemed doubtful. At the approach of the enemy, the Saxons would take refuge in the woods with their wives and children, preferring the lives of outlaws to the yoke of their conquerors. At Durham, nine hundred Normans were put to death, with the governor of the place. William swore that he would take a fearful vengeance, and kept his word. A thousand men were massacred in Northumberland, which had resisted to the last : cattle, tools, horses, harvests—all were destroyed, and the land lay nine years without cultivation. A whole century was not enough to efface the traces of this work of devastation. Some few fared better. Herward, whom the Norman poets call the indomitable outlaw, had established himself

with a band of faithful adherents in the marshes of Lincoln and Norfolk. William respected his heroism, and restored him his inheritance.

162. *Organization of the Normans after the conquest.*—England was at last subdued, and the conqueror could forge at leisure his iron yoke. He began by establishing the feudal system, for the advantage of his Norman knights. But to give still greater strength to the royal despotism, he required the rear-vassals, contrary to all the usages of feudalism, to do homage directly to the king himself. The English were excluded from all political rights, and deprived of the greater part of their property. The names of all those who had fallen in battle, who had survived the defeat, or who had been prevented by some involuntary cause from joining the army, were rigorously sought out and all their possessions seized. The children of the first were deprived of their inheritance for ever; the second were stripped of their estates, and felt, say the Norman writers, that their conqueror, in leaving them life, had done enough for them; and finally, those who had not taken up arms were stripped, because they had intended to do so. Of this universal spoliation the king kept for himself the treasures of the kings, the plate and jewels of the churches, and all the precious things that were found in the warehouses of the merchants. The Norman captains had vast domains, castles, villages, and whole cities. Smaller portions were distributed among the common soldiers. All these tracts were soon covered with citadels and fortresses; and all the natives were compelled to swear obedience and fidelity. Only a few rich Englishmen preserved their domains as vassals of some Norman lord. Some abandoned their native land, and sought an asylum at Constantinople, where they met other Normans, and proved their valor against Robert Guiscard (see next §). They were to be under the name of Varangians, the last defenders of the P-

zantine empire, and preserve their native Saxon till the day of its fall.

163. *Oppression of the conquered.—Game laws, &c.*—In England the name of Englishman had become an insult. All the prelates that bore it, were displaced. The worship of English saints was forbidden, their tombs broken open and their ashes scattered. The English language and writers, were rejected as barbarous. French was taught in the schools and used in courts. The *Danegeld*, a tax of odious memory, was levied again; and the curfew rang at eight, to warn all Saxons, rich or poor, to *cover their fires* and put out their lights. Hunting was forbidden them, perhaps as much to take from them even this pretext for wearing arms, as to gratify the conqueror's inordinate passion for field sports. "William," says a Saxon chronicle, "condemned every one that killed a stag, or a hind, to lose his eyes; and even made laws to protect the lives of hares. This savage king loved wild beasts as if he had been their father." Not contented with having reserved all the forests and woods, he had thirty-six villages destroyed to make room for the *new forest*, which he peopled with game of all kinds for himself and his knights. Finally, a tribunal was established to ascertain *how much wool might yet be cut from the English sheep*.

After the pacification, or rather the subjection of England, William was recalled to Normandy by the frequent revolts of his son Robert. Philip I. of France hazarded an ironical speech, which was repeated to the irritable conqueror, who resolved to take bloody vengeance. He had already burned Nantes and was advancing upon Paris, when death stopped him short in his victorious career (1089).

## § III.

CONQUEST OF SOUTHERN ITALY BY THE NORMANS.—NORMAN  
KINGS IN THE TWO SICILIES.

164. *State of Italy*.—About half a century before the battle of Hastings, which gave England to the French-Normans, some of them had already begun to take possession of Southern Italy. The whole country indeed seemed to hold out peculiar attractions for the adventures of every land; for the Greeks were contending in one section, the Germans had the supremacy in another, and Sicily—the fate of which has ever been so closely linked with that of the Peninsula—was in the hands of the Saracens.

The territory comprised under the general denomination of Apulia, formed with Otranto and Calabria the new province or *Theme* of Lombardy. The emperors of Constantinople had regained a nominal sovereignty over these districts, which they governed by means of an officer called *Catapan*: they collected taxes, coined money, and regulated by charter the rights and privileges of the citizens. But still their power was too remote and too feeble to exert any fixed or regular action over Apulia. On the other hand, the German emperors, as the successors of Charlemagne, raised pretensions to the Greek possessions in Italy, and claimed the feudal homage of the Lombard chiefs. On the west of the Apennines, the great duchy of Beneventum had preserved its independence, but had lost its unity by the dismemberment of the principalities of Capua and Salerno. The maritime cities of Naples, Gaeta, and Amalfi, had formed themselves into republics. In this state of parcelling and anarchy, Southern Italy was an easy prey.

165. *First expedition of the Normans into Italy*.—Con-

*quest of Apulia.*—Forty Normans returning from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, landed at Salerno while the city was sore pressed by the attack of a band of Saracens. The Normans easily put the invaders to flight, and on their return home told such wonderful tales of the glory that was to be won in this new field of adventure, that three hundred of their countrymen set forth under the guidance of Raynulfus, to try their fortunes there. Raynulfus soon distinguished himself by his valor in the service of the duke of Naples, and was rewarded by the castle of Anversa (1026) and the title of count under the sovereignty of the emperor Conrad. This first establishment soon became the rallying point of crowds of adventurers.

Tancred of Hauteville, a Norman lord, had twelve sons already renowned for their valor; three of whom, *William, Drogon, and Humphrey*, renouncing their share of the paternal inheritance, went to try their chance in Italy (1037). At first they aided the prince of Salerno against Capua. Then they fought for the patrician Maniaces against the Saracens of Sicily, and the victory gained for William the surname of *Iron Arm*. Their ungrateful allies refusing to pay the stipulated reward, they declared war against the empire. The contest was waged with all their usual intrepidity, and marked by exploits which seem more like the fables of knight-errantry than sober history. On one occasion, seven hundred Normans are said to have met sixty thousand Greeks, who, touched with compassion at the sight of this feeble band, were willing to let them pass unharmed. But the Normans fell upon them impetuously, and put them to flight. However much we may wish to deduct from these wonderful tales, it is certain that between 1040 and 1043 they made themselves masters of Apulia, and received the investiture of it from the emperor Henry III., leaving the Greeks only a few possessions on the coast.

166. *Robert Guiscard and Roger.*—*Conquest of Sicily and southern Italy.*—After the death of William of the Iron Arm, and the assassination of his brother Drogon, who had succeeded him in 1046, Humphrey became count of Apulia. Soon the Normans began again their victorious excursions, with the aid of *Robert Guiscard* and Roger, youngest sons of the lord of Hauteville. Robert, setting out from Normandy with five horse and thirty foot, threw himself into the wild mountainous districts of southern Italy, and began his career by robberies and murder. His band increased rapidly, and his expeditions spread terror throughout the peninsula. The three great powers of the age, the pope, the emperors of the East and of Germany, leagued together against a band of Normans: Pope Leo IX. was defeated and taken prisoner near Civitella (1053). But satisfied with defeating his army, the cunning conqueror treated the pontiff with every mark of respect, and profited by his victory to obtain a grant of his conquests as a fief of the Holy See: and thus began a supremacy which was to be the source of infinite suffering to posterity, and extend its influence to our own days.

After Humphrey's death (1057), Robert Guiscard caused his brother Roger to invade Calabria, and obtained from the pope the title of duke of Apulia, with the investiture of Sicily, when he should have taken it from the Saracens. It was a sad change for that fertile island, which in the hands of the Saracens bloomed like a garden. The Mahometans had resisted the Greeks successfully, but they were compelled to give way before the impetuous valor of the Normans. In an ambuscade they killed a nephew of Roger, and ate his heart, believing that it would give them something of his valor. But the Normans defeated their army of fifty thousand men at Ceramio, took Palermo after a siege of five months, and Roger was charged with the government of Sicily with the title of grand-count (1074).

Meanwhile the taking of Bari, Otranto, Salerno, and Amalfi, had completed the ruin of the Greek power in Italy. Robert Guiscard then crossed the Adriatic, and defeated the imperial army near Durazzo. In this battle the Saxon emigrants found themselves once more in face of the hated Norman. Robert followed up his victory, and had penetrated as far as Thessaly, in the hope of displaying his victorious banner before the walls of Constantinople, when he was recalled by the disputes between Gregory VII. and Henry IV. The pope called on him for aid, and Robert, without heeding the menaces of the emperor, and hoping to profit by Gregory's dependent situation, marched to his rescue, and gave him an asylum in his states. Soon after he died (1085), just as he had received tidings of a new victory over the Greeks.

167. *Foundation of the kingdom of the two Sicilies.*—*Roger II.*—While Roger's eldest son Boemond, preferring the glory of the first crusade to his paternal inheritance, went in search of distant conquests (v. ch. xii.), Roger Borsa held the sceptre with a feeble hand, and transmitted it to his son William. William died without children (1127), and his cousin, *Roger II.* of Sicily, had himself proclaimed at Palermo by the archbishop and the inhabitants, and three years after received the investiture from the antepope Anaclete. Pope Innocent II., forgetting the fate of Leo IX., ventured to meet Roger in the field, and like his predecessor was defeated, and compelled to comply with the demands of the victorious Norman. Robert Guiscard had compelled his prisoner to grant him the investiture of his conquests. Roger demanded and received the title of *king of the two Sicilies*. Thus the possessions of the two Norman branches were united under one sceptre, and the popes, extending their sway even in the midst of defeat, obtained the suzerainty of this fertile kingdom.

The power of the Normans in Italy had now reached its

highest point. Roger II., king of Naples and Sicily, duke of Apulia, and prince of Capua, declared war against the Greeks, and passed his whole life in fighting them, without ever meeting an adversary that could resist him. He made himself master of Corfu, Etolia, and Bœtia, burnt the suburbs of Constantinople, and left as the fruit of his conquests the culture of the silk-worm, which some of his prisoners brought with them to Sicily.

168. *Successors of Roger II.—Reunion of the two Sicilies to the empire.*—The successor of this great prince, *William I. the Bad* (1154–1166), attacked at the same time by the emperor of the East and Frederic Barbarossa, almost stripped of his states of Naples, and repulsed by the pope, who refused to recognize him for king, restored his fortunes by a great victory, and obtained the investiture. His son *William II. the Good* (1166–1169) united with Alexander III., who understood the cause of Italian independence better than his predecessors, and was an active ally of that famous league of Lombardy, which checked the course of the redoubtable emperor (v. ch. xi., § iv.): but Frederic, seeking by policy what he was unable to gain by force, obtained the hand of Constance, Roger's posthumous daughter, for his son Henry, who becoming emperor, claimed in his wife's name (1189) the inheritance of William II. It was in vain that the Sicilians, in hatred of the German dominion, proclaimed *Tancred*, a cousin of the late king; and that Pope Clement III. gave the investiture to the defender of the national cause (1190); for after the death of Tancred, who had fought against Henry in Italy, and Richard Coeur de Lion in Sicily, the resistance of the young king William III. was crushed by a war of extermination, and the dominion of the Normans, which had withstood both empires for a century and a half, fell as a first fruit of the intermarriage of princes (1194).



## CHAPTER XI.

### HISTORY OF GERMANY AND ITALY TO THE DEATH OF FREDERICK II.

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#### SUMMARY.

§ I. Dismemberment of the empire of Charlemagne.—Arnolph of Carinthia, king of Germany, then emperor.—Zwentibold, king of Lorraine.—Wars in Italy against the Moravians.—Lewis the Child.—Final establishment of the Hungarians in Pannonia.—Extinction of the family of Charlemagne in Germany.—Election of Conrad of Franconia.—War with the duke of Bavaria.—Henry of Saxony, the Fowler.—Wise and strong government.—War against the Hungarians.—*Otho I., the Great.*—Contests with the vassals.—Bohemia subjected to tribute.—Expedition into Italy (v. next paragraph).—Progress of feudality under Otho II. and III., and Henry II.—Relations of the empire with the Bohemians and Hungarians.

Accession of Conrad the Salic.—Henry II. contends with the Bohemians, the Hungarians.—His ascendancy in Italy.—Minority of Henry IV.—Power of feudality, disorders in the empire.

§ II. State of Italy.—Rivalry of Guido of Spoleto and Berengarius of Friuli.—Intervention of the emperor Arnolphus.—Guido and his son Lambert, emperors.—Lewis of Burgundy, king of Italy and emperor.—Final triumph of Berengarius.—Lothario.—Berengarius II. of Ivrea.—Adelaide, Lothario's widow, calls Otho II., who marries her.—Revolt and submission of Ludolph, son of Otho.—Otho's second expedition: he is crowned emperor.—Troubles in the church.—Quarrels with the empire of the East.—Contest between Conrad and his Italian vassals.—Ascendancy of the empire over Italy and the Holy See, under Henry III.

§ III. *Causes of the influence of the church and the Holy See in the middle ages.*—Relations between the church and the empire.—Confusion of temporal and spiritual.—Pretensions of the emperors.—*Of the right of investiture.*—State of manners.—Necessity of a reformation.—*Political position of the popes in Christendom.*—*Avowed ascendancy of the Holy See.*—*Accession of Gregory VII.*—*His double aim.*—*He resists simony and the corruption of manners, and defends the independence of the church.*—*Contest with the emperor Henry IV.*—*The countess Matilda.*—*Insurrection of vassals.*—*Henry at Canossa.*—*Deposed.*—*He triumphs over his rivals, and in Italy.*—*Death of Gregory VII.*—The contest continues under Urban II.—First crusade.—Reverses and death of Henry IV.—Henry V. forces the pope to yield the investiture.—Councils opposed to the decrees of the emperor.—Henry V. triumphs in Italy.—Troubles in Germany.—*Concordate of Worms.*

§ IV. Progress of feudal power in Germany.—Beginning of the quarrels between Guelphs and Ghibellines.—Lothario II.—Conrad of Franconia gets the better of Henry of Saxony.—Accession of Frederick Barbarossa.—Religious and political troubles in Italy.—Arnold of Brescia.—Frederick Barbarossa interferes in Italy.—The quarrel of the Guelphs and Ghibellines becomes the quarrel of the Holy See and the empire.—Alexander III.—League of Lombardy.—Power of the emperor in Italy after the annexation of the kingdom of the two Sicilies.—*Pontificate of Innocent III.*—Influence of the papacy over all Europe.—*Frederick II.*—Contest with the pope and Lombard cities.—Eccelline chief of the Ghibellines.—Frederick at the crusade.—Civil wars in Germany and Italy.—Frederick II. deposed.—New wars.—Portrait of this prince.

## § I.

### GERMANY FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE EMPIRE TO THE WAR OF INVESTITURES.

169. *Dismemberment of the Carolingian empire after Charles the Fat.*—Amid the convulsions which followed the dethronement of Charles the Fat (v. ch. ix.), Germany, which had just placed the heir of her kings upon the throne

of France, still preserved the preponderance. The natural son of Carloman, *Arnolph* of Carinthia, having been chosen king of Germany, received the homage of Eudes, king of France, and Robert Guelph, or Welf, king of Burgundy beyond the Jura. Lewis, Boson's son and successor, put Cisjuran Burgundy under Arnolph's protection: Berengarius, duke of Friuli, a pretender to the crown of Italy, invoked Arnolph's assistance against his competitor Guido of Spoleto; and finally this prince gave the kingdom of Lorraine to his natural son Zwentibold (895), who had been named after his godfather, a formidable chief of the Moravians. Nothing seemed to be wanting to him but the imperial crown, which Guido had received in 891 from the pope Stephen V., and transmitted to his son Lambert. Arnolph causing himself to be crowned at Rome (896) in spite of Lambert's efforts, pretended to give laws to Italy, and stripped even his own protégé Berengarius. But he was recalled to Germany by the repeated incursions of the duke of the Moravians, whose alliance he thought he had bought by the cession of Bohemia. While he was engaged with this formidable adversary, Lambert and Berengarius, equally jealous of his power and fearful of his ambition, became reconciled and divided Italy between them.

Arnolph died (899) just as he had received the tidings of a new defeat of the Moravians, and at his death the destiny of Germany became as uncertain as before. Berengarius took the imperial crown. Zwentibold was assassinated in Lorraine, and Lewis, Arnolph's legitimate son but seven years old, was acknowledged king of Germany. Only two events mark his reign, the appearance of the Normans in Lorraine, and the final establishment of the Hungarians in Pannonia. These Barbarians from the shores of Lake Mæotis and the Caspian Sea, allied themselves with the Bohemians, and invaded the country of the Moravians, whose chief had

submitted to the king of Germany. They crushed a German army near Augsburg, defeated the duke of Thuringia, penetrated into Bavaria, and held Europe in terror during a whole century by their ravages and incursions.

170. *Extinction of the Carolingians in Germany.*—*Conrad of Franconia.*—*Henry of Saxony.*—Lewis the Child, Charlemagne's last descendant in Germany, died in 911. The crown became elective, and passed to the most powerful families. Four great vassals could aspire to it: the dukes of Franconia, Suabia, Bavaria, and Saxony. *Conrad of Franconia* was elected (911). But the feudal chiefs pretended to throw off at will a power which they themselves had created. Arnolph the Bad, duke of Bavaria, took the title of king, and refused to submit to the imperial supremacy. Conrad overcame him in a great battle. But the duke of Bavaria calling in the Hungarians to his assistance, Conrad was killed, and his death left unavenged. He had indicated Henry of Saxony as his successor, whose talents and firmness he honored, although his enemy. Conrad's brother, to prevent the indecision of the vassals and decide Henry's election, carried him the imperial insignia himself. Henry was hunting when the message reached him, and from this incident received the surname of the *Fowler* (918).

*Henry the Fowler*, proclaimed by the Thuringians and the Saxons, and soon recognized by the Suabians and Bavarians, opened the dominion of that illustrious house of Saxony to which Germany owes its organization and the permanent possession of the imperial sceptre. Henry repressed the ambition of the great vassals by forming a regular army, and building in the provinces fortified castles, to which he drew, by the grant of important privileges, the ninth part of the inhabitants of the country. He established *marches* or *margraviats*, to defend the northern frontiers against the attacks of the Slavonians and Sorabians. He conquered

the Danes of Jutland, and won the glory of opening the way for Christianity among those savage people. Wincellaus, duke of Bohemia, was compelled to recognize his supremacy (930); and the Hungarians who had continued their ravages in eastern Germany were defeated in a great battle, the memory of which is still preserved in their popular traditions. It was in this period also, that the first municipal cities of Germany are supposed to have been established.

171. *Otho I. the Great and his successors.*—*Otho I.*, son of Henry the Fowler, was even more renowned than he (936). Menaced at his accession by a crowd of revolted vassals, he made this obstacle serve to confirm his power, by overthrowing the rebellious dukes of Suabia, Franconia, Bavaria, and Lorraine, and giving their domains to members of his own family. The usurpation of Boleslaus in Bohemia, after the murder of his brother, furnished Otho with an occasion of invading this duchy and subjecting it to tribute, under pretext of punishing the assassin and avenging the persecuted Christians (950). The number of Slavonians (slaves) that he took in this war was so great, that their name, which in their own language means illustrious, became thenceforth the distinctive appellation of captives or serfs. He made two expeditions into Italy, which won for him the surname of *the Great* and the imperial crown. The close of his reign belongs to the history of Italy, but from that time, the imperial dignity became attached to the sovereignty of Germany (v. next §).

The powerful authority of this prince, his skilful administration, and his success in arms, had repressed the efforts of feudalism and checked its progress: but under his successors it promptly repaired its losses. Under *Otho II.* (973–983), *Otho III.* (983–1002), and *Henry II.* of Bavaria (1002–1024), the vassals succeeded in establishing the hereditary transmission of fiefs, and soon also that of the prin-

cipal dignities of the crown. Thus the territorial aristocracy was strengthened by the accession of another aristocracy no less dangerous than itself. The imperial throne was elective ; the fiefs and dignities became hereditary ; and it was easy to see, that in a contest between the nobles and the emperor, the emperor would be the loser. While this was going on in Germany, each new reign began with a war in Italy, still renewed, and still without result. The relations of the Saxon emperors with the Solavonians and Hungarians were more peaceable. Boleslaus I., the second Christian duke of Poland (992-1025), received the royal crown from Otho III. Henry II. confirmed to Vais, sovereign of Hungary, who, under the name of *Stephen*, became the apostle of his country, the title of king, which he had already received from Pope Sylvester II. (1000).

172. *Extinction of the family of Saxony.—Conrad the Salic.—Henry III.—Henry IV.*—On the extinction of the imperial family of Saxony, *Conrad the Salic* (1024) was raised to the imperial throne ; and this election of a simple lord, merely because he inspired less apprehension to his ambitious vassals, shows what progress the feudal power had made during the preceding reigns. His reign was passed in counteracting the leagues formed against him, and enforcing the homage of several princes, all ready to shake off even this slight subjection. With his vassals of Italy he began a contest, which continued under his son *Henry III.* (1039-1056). This prince, successively conqueror of the Bohemians (1042), and of the Hungarians (1043), whom he subjected to the empire, won over the turbulent nobles of Burgundy by his marriage with the virtuous Agnes, a princess of Aquitania. In Italy he exercised a powerful ascendancy, disposed several times of the pontifical throne, and had the skill to conciliate the Normans in the south of the peninsula, by granting them the investiture of what he could no longer

take from them. The empire was at the height of its grandeur, comprising the whole of Germany between the Rhine, the Oder, and the Alps; Italy to the confines of Apulia and Calabria; Gaul from the Rhine to the Scheldt, the Meuse, the Soane, and the Rhone. But there was no unity in this vast dominion, and the insubordination of the great vassals was a permanent cause of division and decay.

The young *Henry IV.*, son of Henry III. (1056–1106), had been crowned with the consent of the princes and people, eleven years before the death of his father; but the imperial dignity was none the better respected during his minority. Agnes tried to make herself partisans by the gift of the great fiefs of Carinthia, Suabia, and Bavaria, but it was only giving new allies to the great vassals; and the usurpation by their creatures of all the dignities of the church and the empire, was the origin of those scandals and disorders which were soon to cause a violent rupture between the empire and the Holy See.

## § II.

### ITALY FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE EMPIRE TO THE WAR OF INVESTITURES.

173. *State of Italy.*—The kingdom of Italy, founded upon the ruins of the dominion of the Lombards, had never embraced the whole of the peninsula. Towards the end of the ninth century, the independent states of the pope comprised the environs of Rome and exarchate of Ravenna, with the ancient Pentapolis. In the south, the Greeks still defended their lessening territories against the Aglabite Saracens, who had made themselves masters of Sicily and several cities of the main land. The duchies of Beneventum and Salerno,

last remains of the Lombard kingdom, had sustained themselves between the Greeks and the Latins. Several cities, powerful by their commerce and their marine, Naples, Gaeta, and Amalfi, repelled even the nominal supremacy of the emperor of Constantinople. In the north, maritime commerce had begun to enrich Venice, which had grown up on the lagoons of the Rialto, and Pisa and Genoa, which proclaimed their independence at the dismemberment of the empire (888). The kingdom of Italy, which alone had preserved some degree of strength and unity in the midst of this parcelling, was about to be rent by endless divisions.

174. *Rivalry between the dukes of Spoleto and Friuli.*—In escaping from the powerless hands of Charles the Fat, after the diet of Tribur, this kingdom was divided between two powerful lords, *Guido of Spoleto*, and *Berengarius duke of Friuli*. Berengarius, though recognized at first in the north of the peninsula, confirmed in his possession by the emperor Arnolph of Carinthia and victorious over the duke of Spoleto at Brescia (889), was still obliged to yield to the persevering energy of his rival, who made himself master, first of the crown of Italy, and then of that of the empire (891). His son *Lambert*, who was also invested with the imperial dignity (894), forced Berengarius to yield him Italy as far as the Adda. But Guido's death restored the sceptre to his adversary, and Berengarius seemed now to have obtained quiet possession of the long contested prize, when the Hungarians broke down from the Alps with their fierce bands. The Italians rallied promptly around the banner of their chief, and the invaders, perplexed and harassed in a country so little suited to their style of warfare, offered to purchase retreat by restoring their plunder and giving hostages for their good faith. Instead of catching at the offer, the imprudent Berengarius attempted to crush them in the field, and was defeated with immense loss. The invaders



spread in triumph over the country ; and, as if to punish the unfortunate king for his imprudence, Adelbert of Tuscany, with several other nobles, invited *Lewis* of Burgundy, son of Boson, to accept the crown of Italy (900) and of the empire (901). But a new turn of fortune restored the sceptre to Berengarius ; and Lewis, who had disgusted the Italians by his arrogance, had to swear that he would never come back again before he was allowed to return to his native kingdom. Oaths have seldom much weight in the balance with a crown, and the king of Burgundy recrossed the Alps at the head of a powerful army, and compelled the Pavians to open their gates. Berengarius, who was sick, fled to Verona, and the report was soon spread that he was dead. Verona was filled with his adherents, but Lewis, trusting to the story of his rival's death, ventured himself there, and lived as though all danger had died with him. But a fearful atonement was prepared for his perjury. Berengarius, at the head of a chosen band, fell upon him in the night, made him prisoner, and calling him to account for the violation of his oath, inflicted upon him the terrible punishment of blinding, so common in that age (905). The mutilated king returned home, and Berengarius remained in undisputed possession of the throne. But still the imperial sceptre was floating in attractive vision before his eyes. The Hungarians, it is true, broke in from time to time upon his kingdom, and compelled him to buy them off on degrading terms. It was less the prosperity of his kingdom that he desired, than the enlargement of his titles. At length, a great victory over the Saracens secured him the long-coveted prize ; and the pope, who had been his ally in the contest, rewarded his triumph with the imperial crown. Still Berengarius, with all his faults, was not a bad man ; and his death, by the hand of an assassin, was owing to a trait of noble generosity of which kings have seldom given examples.

175. *Conquest of Italy by Otho the Great.*—After Berengarius (924), the peninsula again became a prey to rival pretenders. The kings of the two Burgundies, *Rudolph* and *Hughes*, followed one another upon the throne of Italy in a very brief space. Hughes, expelled by the powerful *Berengarius*, marquis of *Ivrea*, had been succeeded by his son *Lothario* (946), in whose name Berengarius exercised a royal authority. But tired of a secondary role, he poisoned the young king and was proclaimed in his stead. Lothario had left a wife renowned for her beauty, *Adelaide*, daughter of Rudolph II. of Burgundy, whose hand Berengarius wished to obtain for his son Adelbert. But the princess resolutely refused, and escaping from the fortress in which she had been shut up, with a single attendant, called Otho I. to her aid. In his first expedition beyond the Alps, Otho took Pavia and several other cities, had himself declared king of Italy, and married Adelaide. But in the midst of his success he was recalled to Germany by the revolt of his son Ludolph. Berengarius, who had yielded to the storm, had recourse to negotiation, and obtained a grant of the crown as a gift of his conqueror. But the habit of tyranny was too strong, and his oppressions and bad faith led Otho to send his son against him, and his son dying, to come again himself at the head of a powerful army. This time his triumph was complete, and after taking possession of Lombardy, and causing his authority to be recognized throughout the kingdom, he went to Rome and received the imperial crown from the hands of Pope John XII. (2d Feb. 962).

The condition of Rome itself demanded the emperor's attention. *Marozia*, widow of a Roman lord named Alberic, had seized the supreme power in the city, making and unmaking popes at will. She raised to the throne her son John XI., and to confirm her authority, married Hughes, king of Italy, who was allured by the prospect of so rich a prize as

the sovereignty of Rome. But Alberic, another son of Ma-rozia, exasperated against his father-in-law, raised the people, drove him from Rome, and confining his mother, made himself sovereign under the title of *Patrician of the Romans*. This dignity he transmitted to his son Octavian, who at nineteen had himself chosen pope under the name of John XII.

John had invoked Otho's assistance against Berengarius, and received him at Rome with every demonstration of respect. But this harmony did not last long. The emperor left Rome to lay siege to the fortress of St. Leo in Umbria, where Berengarius had shut himself up with his wife, and during the siege he received frequent complaints of the scandalous conduct of the pope. The remonstrances which he addressed the haughty young man excited his indignation instead of repentance, and to guard against the effects of his resentment, Otho was obliged to hasten to Rome at the head of a strong detachment. The pope fled, and Otho, on reaching the city, made the people and clergy swear that they would no longer choose a pope without his consent and that of his successors. Then he called a council, had the pope deposed, and Leo VIII. elected in his stead. John made great efforts to regain his throne, but his opponent was supported by the strong arm of the emperor, and could not be overthrown.

Soon after, Berengarius was compelled to surrender, his son Adelbert took refuge at Constantinople, and all that portion of Italy which had belonged to the Lombards passed under the dominion of the Germans, nothing being left the Greeks but a few cities of lower Italy, with the greater part of Apulia and Calabria. Otho transmitted this kingdom with the imperial dignity to his son, and the Germans adopted the principle that the king of Germany became by his election king of Italy and emperor. Still the usage of the triple coronation of Germany, Italy, and the empire, continued for cen-

turies, and no king of Germany till Maximilian I. took the title of emperor without having first been crowned by the pope.

Otho was ambitious to establish some claim to those provinces of southern Italy which had not yet been subjected to the empire, and demanded the hand of the princess Theophania for his eldest son. The treachery of Nicephoras led to a war, which ended in the dethronement of the emperor of the East; and his successor, John Zimisces, bought peace by consenting to the marriage. Next year, Otho the Great died at the summit of human glory and power (973).

176. *Troubles in the states of the church.*—*Ascendency of the empire over the Holy See.*—The reign of *Otho II.* contains some romantic incidents, which left no decided trace in Italian history. Under *Otho III.*, Rome was governed for a time by a consul, the celebrated Crescentius, who, after expelling two popes, was at last besieged in the castle of St. Angelo by the imperial troops, and hanged like a common malefactor before the gates of the fortress. *Sylvester II.*, illustrious also under the name of *Gerbetus* for his learning and his virtues, restored the dignity if not the power of the tiara: and the political rivalries which had so long desolated the peninsula, ended with the accession of *Conrad the Salic*, who was twice crowned king; once at Milan, and once at Monza. The resistance of Pavia was punished by laying waste its territories, and destroying its castles. The great vassals, who exercised an insufferable tyranny over their own vassals, saw the imperial authority sustain the rights of the vassals, and Conrad set the example of a policy to which the kings of France were subsequently indebted for their victory over feudalism. The imperial power triumphed in Italy. *Henry III.* interfered in the disputes of *Benedict IX.*, *Sylvester III.*, and *Gregory VI.*, who contended for the chair of St. Peter; and causing them to be deposed, had the bishop of Bamberg appointed in their stead, who took the

name of Clement III. (1046). The Romans renounced the right of free election of the pope, which had been attacked by the emperors more than once; and proclaiming Henry and his successors patricians, gave them, in sign of their supremacy, a green robe, a golden ring for the finger, and a circlet of gold for the head.

But the contest between the church and the empire was soon to begin, and lead to a still higher development of the papal power.

### § III.

#### CONTEST BETWEEN THE CHURCH AND THE EMPIRE.—GREGORY VII.

177. *Causes of the influence of the church and the Holy See.*—During this slow and painful elaboration of modern society, which fills up so large a portion of the middle ages, Europe was a prey to convulsions and divisions. Feudalism contributed more than any other institution, to establish in fact the absolute independence of the nobility. But from the fall of the Roman empire, the only centre of action was the church, which by its influence, independent of times and of places, could act upon every people, communicating a regular movement in the midst of their constant agitations, and rallying around her every eminent mind, by the science, of which she alone was the depository. The church had more than once saved towns and countries during the disasters of the invasion: had organized almost all the Barbarian tribes, by converting them to Christianity; and amid the discords of the tenth and eleventh centuries, had alone possessed sufficient power to check the bloody dissensions of people and of individuals, by compelling them to make peace, or at least to

accept the *Truce of God*. She alone could suspend for a time the mailgnant quarrels of vassals, and the desperate contests of princes.

It is not surprising that such benefits should have been repaid by a general homage. The Western empire, the only great temporal power, had felt the importance of allying itself with the great spiritual power which governed the Christian world. It was for this that Charlemagne had confirmed the donation of the domain of St. Peter; and the emperors went to Rome to receive their crown from the hands of the pope. But they obtained in exchange a kind of supremacy over the Holy See, which had been compelled more than once to invoke the mediation of the emperors in order to oppose the intrigues and confusion which had attended the election of several popes. At the end of the ninth century, it was still a simple protection: "The imperial commissaries," says a decree of John IX., "will, according to canonic rite and received usage, be present at the consecration of the pope, to repel violence and prevent scandal." But from that time the emperors profited by every pretext, to take an active part in the election of the sovereign pontiff; and Otho the Great obtained from the anti-pope, Leo VIII., the right of naming the pope and conferring ecclesiastical dignities in his own states. This decree, though annulled by Henry II. (1014), was revived by his successors, and became the foundation of all the imperial pretensions.

178. *Encroachments of the temporal upon the spiritual.—Of the right of investiture.*—But this subjection of the choice of the pope to the good pleasure of the emperor, seemed to menace that independence which is so essential to the head of the church; and particularly when the divisions of the empire gave the sceptre to the great vassals. It was impossible to abandon the pontifical power to every usurper that held sway beyond the Alps; and the abuse of the temporal

power in ecclesiastical affairs was promptly displayed in the scandalous manner in which the princes distributed ecclesiastical dignities. Instead of confining themselves to its temporal concerns, they assumed the right of appointing the higher functionaries of the clergy as if they had been bishops, and trafficked in holy things, to augment their revenues and gain over partisans. Bishoprics and abbacies were put up at auction, and given to the highest bidder. A child of ten years old, Benedict IX., was raised by Conrad II. to the pontifical throne for money. Prelates, who had bought their places, indemnified themselves by dilapidating the property of the church, and extorting from the poor, the sum which they had paid for their dignity. Subject, too, by the feudal tenure of the fiefs attached to their offices, to the feudal hierarchy, they bore arms like mere temporal lords; raised their banner at the prince's call, and fought at the head of their vassals, instead of watching over their dioceses.

179. *State of manners.—Necessity of a reformation.*—Contemporary writers give a horrible picture of the manners of this period. "They give the episcopal dignity," says St. Anselmo, "to serfs and debauchees, because they know that such men will not dare to reprove the vices of the great to whom they owe their elevation. These false shepherds think only of growing fat at the expense of their flock, without troubling themselves about their souls. Others giving themselves up to the vanities of the world, busy themselves with dogs and birds, for hunting; and in spite of the canons, abandon their churches to follow the emperor." These deplorable examples spread vice through all classes. "The world," says St. Peter Domiano, "is no longer any thing but a gulf of envy and lewdness. An evil spirit excites every where hatred, impiety—hypocrisy . . . . . Who is ashamed of a disorderly life, of a sacrilegious theft? Who

fears to commit crimes that call down the vengeance of heaven? Corruption overflows on every side."

Such was the frightful state of society, that wickedness seemed to have reached its utmost bounds, and men looked for the end of the world. The popes themselves had shared in the corruption, and the Holy See had been defiled by the grossest pollutions. But still the first thought of a sincere pontiff would be, that his office made it his duty to oppose, by every means in his power, the progress of the contagion, and defend the best interests of humanity intrusted to his protection. Some, too, may have united with the hope of liberating the church from the supremacy of the emperors, that of founding a temporal supremacy of their own. Human motives are seldom unmixed; and the stream that springs limpid from the rock, will sometimes grow turbid as it runs. However this may be, they announced the intention of restoring freedom to the Holy See; of putting an end to an influence which reduced the church to the rank of vassal, and seemed to have abolished every law of discipline and morality.

180. *Political situation of the popes in the midst of Christendom.*—At the moment in which the struggle began, the papacy was already possessed of immense power, founded upon opinion and common consent. The popes had become mediators and arbiters between people and kings. "It was," says Ancillon, "a supreme tribunal erected in the midst of universal anarchy; and whose decrees were often as deserving of respect as they were respected." The nations and sovereigns themselves had founded this ascendancy, which Gregory VII. invoked with so much energy. After the death of Lewis the Child, the states of Germany sent deputies to the pope to excuse themselves for having disposed of the crown without his order and permission. The



victorious Normans demanded of the pope, a prisoner in their camp, the investiture of Apulia and Calabria as a fief of the church. Stephen, king of Hungary, had transferred to St. Peter all the rights and power of his crown. According to Saxon law, it was not till the emperor elect had been crowned by the pope that he obtained the imperial power and title; and the same legislation gave to the pope, in express terms, the right of excommunicating the emperor. "The temporal sword," said the law of Suabia, "is intrusted to the emperor by the pope;" and thus the emperor at his coronation was to swear obedience and fidelity to the pope. It is from this point of view that we must judge this epoch, and the conduct of Gregory VII.

Such power, in such an age, could not be a vain deposit in the hands of a man whose energetic will and unshaken firmness were united with strong convictions, purity of life, and far-reaching foresight.

181. *First reforms and accession of Hildebrand (Gregory VII.) to the pontifical throne.*—The history of Gregory's reforms, begins long before that of his pontificate. *Hildebrand*, son of a Tuscan carpenter, was a simple monk of Cluny, when the reputation of his wisdom and austere virtue called him to the councils of the sovereign pontiffs. He had already sounded the depths of the evil, discovered its cause; and formed the double aim, to which his whole life was invariably directed, the independence of the church and regeneration of manners. Every thing was to give way before the inspirations of his ardent genius.

Under Leo IX. and Victor II. (1048–1057), several bishops, who had been appointed by the emperor and convicted of simony, were deposed by his advice. The celibacy of the clergy—a masterpiece of policy, as separating the church from the world; but a lamentable error, as cutting them off from natural sympathies, and exposing them to unneces-

sary temptations—was proclaimed, too, at his instigation, by Stephen IX. (1055), in a bull which claimed to be founded upon the ancient canons. And finally he caused Nicholas II. (1058–1061) to issue a decree reserving to the cardinals the free election of the pope, with only the simple reserve of the emperor's confirmation. The work of his pontificate was prepared.

When he was spoken of for pope, he endeavored to persuade the emperor Henry IV. not to confirm his election, warning him that the imperial dignity would not guard him from the stern reproofs which his irregular life deserved. Henry, who had already rendered himself odious in Germany by his cruelty and debaucheries, and who allowed abbacies to be sold at auction even upon the footsteps of the throne, approved the election in spite of the warning and the fears of the German bishops, who trembled for their own safety, and Hildebrand assumed the tiara under the name of *Gregory VII.* (1073).

182. *Contest between Gregory VII. and Henry IV.—Excommunication of the emperor.*—He instantly renewed all the decrees of his predecessors. The council of Rome of 1074, proscribed simony, the traffic of holy things, and forbade, under severe penalties, the marriage of priests. The decrees of the council were carried to the two kings who had particularly favored the abuse, Philip I. of France and Henry of Germany. Both professed submission. Next year (1075), a second council decided that the investiture of ecclesiastical property should no longer belong to laymen.

Henry, who was then at war with Saxony and Thuringia, had just gained a great victory ; and in the pride of his triumph, he rejected the pontifical decision. To the council of Rome he opposed the conventicle of Worms, and sent Gregory a sentence of deposition. The German barons assembled at the diet of Treves, appealed to the pope as arbiter, who ex-

communicated the emperor, and released his subjects from their oath of allegiance.

The effect of the excommunication was greater even than the pope could have expected; for Henry's life had been so scandalously corrupt, and the influence of the Holy See was so great, that almost all Germany rose up against him. The remedy was indeed an extreme one, in the midst of the frightful confusion of society and the uncertain state of the political institutions of the period; but perhaps, too, it was necessary, and certainly it was authorized by the public law of Germany, which declared that *every one, under the sentence of excommunication, who did not obtain a reversal of the sentence before the end of the year, had forfeited his fief and his patrimony*. "Freemen," says an old German author, "had chosen Henry king, on condition that he would judge and govern the electors according to the rights of the crown. As he had constantly violated this compact to which he had sworn at his election, they could refuse to recognize him for king even without the decision of the Apostolic See." Henry's position was as critical as it was mortifying; for the great vassals threatened to depose him unless he obtained the pope's absolution, and this could not be done without humbling himself before a power which he detested. But there was no choice, and he set forth towards Italy to beg pardon at the feet of the sovereign pontiff. Gregory was at the castle of Canosa, with the countess *Matilda* of Tuscany, who had devoted herself to the defence of the Holy See. Henry was compelled to submit to a public and solemn penance, waiting three winter-days in the castle court with nothing but a woollen tunic to protect him from the cold. At last the pope granted him absolution, and he withdrew to meditate new plans of revenge.

183. *Henry IV. in Italy.—Death of Gregory VII.*—The German lords were not satisfied. They had hoped to see

the emperor deposed, and reproached the pope for his indulgence. Henry had hardly reached Germany when the assembly of *Torschein* proclaimed his brother-in-law, *Rudolph* of Suabia, in his stead; and his son *Conrad* revolted against him in Italy. But *Conrad*, returning to his duty, marched against the pope; while Henry, at the head of those of his vassals who had remained faithful, pursued his rival, vainly defended by the pontifical anathema. *Rudolph* was killed in Thuringia; and the same day, the defeat of the troops of the countess *Matilda* opened for the emperor the road to Rome. Henry went to be crowned by the anti-pope *Clement III.*, and besiege in the castle of *St. Angelo*, *Gregory VII.*, who, with unshaken firmness, still refused to make the slightest concession. The heroic old man was delivered by *Robert Guiscard*, who burnt part of the city, and gave the pope a refuge in his states. Soon after *Gregory* died, repeating these words: "I loved justice and hated iniquity, and therefore, I die in exile" (1085).

184. *The contest continues under Urban II. and Pascal II.*—The new pope, *Victor III.* (1086–1087), shrunk from the legacy of disputes and combats which his predecessor had left him, and made peace with the emperor. But two years afterwards, he was replaced by *Urban II.*, who resumed *Gregory's* great work with ardor (1088–1089). *Urban* shook the emperor's power, by making his two sons revolt against him in succession; and bound all Europe to the Holy See, by exciting the enthusiasm of the crusades (v. ch. xii. § 11). The people, rushing to the holy war, abandoned a prince overwhelmed by the anathemas of the church. An army of crusaders drove *Henry IV.* and the anti-pope *Clement* from Italy.

*Pascal II.* (1099–1118) continued to support the sons of the unhappy *Henry*, who died in misery after having been compelled to renounce the empire. The pope hoped great

things from the new emperor *Henry V.*, who owed him his crown ; but the parricidal son repaid his benefactor with ingratitude. He seized upon the person of the pope, treated him with great harshness, and would only consent to restore him to liberty on the promise of an unconditional surrender of the right of investiture.

Pascal soon retracted a promise wrested from him by force (1112). Two German councils had already excommunicated the emperor for his sacrilegious violence, and the council of the Lateran renewed the prohibition of giving ecclesiastical investitures to laymen, or receiving them from them. Henry V. opposed the decrees of the church sword in hand, entered Italy (1116), drove Pascal from Rome, invaded the inheritance of the countess Matilda which she had bequeathed to the Holy See, and had himself crowned by the anti-pope Gregory VIII. But at last, worn out with the troubles of Germany, where a strong party sustained the cause of the pontiff, he consented to open negotiations with the legitimate pope Calixtus, who had been re-established at Rome.

185. *Concordate of Worms.*—*End of the war of investitures.*—A diet was held at Worms (1122), and after long conferences between the ministers of the emperor and the envoys of the pope, the emperor consented to the free election of bishops and abbots, renouncing the investiture of the mitre and the cross ; that is the ecclesiastical investiture, which was reserved to the bishops. The pope, on his side, gave up the investiture by the sceptre of the ecclesiastical domains, which were subject, like all others, to feudal tenure. Thus were divided the temporal and the spiritual jurisdiction ; the secular and the religious power. The pope was no longer any thing more than the spiritual head of the church ; the emperor, the first and greatest king of Europe. The political unity of Christendom was broken for ever.

The agreement between the priesthood and the empire was confirmed by the general council of the Lateran (1123). From that time, the election of the pope has belonged exclusively to the cardinals, being no longer subordinate to the will of the emperor. The war of investitures was ended, but other motives soon revived the rivalry between Italy and Germany.

#### § IV.

CONTESTS OF THE GUELPHS AND Ghibellines UNDER THE HOUSE OF SUABIA.—INNOCENT III.—INNOCENT IV.—FREDERIC BARBAROSSA.—FREDERIC II.

186. *Beginning of the contest between the Guelphs and Ghibellines.*—*Lothario II.*—During the war of investitures and amid the internal confusion and civil wars of Germany, the power of the great vassals had increased prodigiously at the expense of the power of the emperors. To counter-balance these encroachments, the emperors had created a nobility which depended upon them alone; and increased the temporal power of the clergy, in order to oppose it to that of their vassals. It was all in vain. The clergy generally made common cause with the lay-nobles, and the lords who held directly of the crown were not strong enough to stand against the older and more powerful barons. Henry IV. had sunk in the contest. Under Henry V. the hereditary transmission was established, and became the firmest foundation of feudal power. At last the extinction of the imperial house of Franconia seemed to decide the contest, and give free course to the ambitious pretensions of the barons. At the death of Henry V. two old families—the Welfs (Guelphs), and the Hohenstaufen lords of Wibelin (Ghibellines)—dis-

puted the crown. The former held Bavaria and Saxony, and in Italy had temporary possession of Tuscany and part of Lombardy, the rich inheritance of the countess Matilda; the latter were masters of the duchies of Suabia and Franconia. The preference which one of them obtained, became the origin of the famous rivalry of the Guelphs and Ghibellines.

*Lothario II.* duke of Saxony, was elected by the Germanic diet, and crowned by the legate of the pope (1125); but Frederic of Hohenstaufen duke of Suabia, and Conrad of Franconia, refused to recognize him. Lothario passed the greater part of his reign in contending against these powerful adversaries. He died in 1137, on his return from a brilliant expedition into Italy, and after having invested his nephew Henry the Proud, duke of Bavaria, with the duchy of Saxony.

187. *Conrad of Franconia.*—*Accession of Frederic Barbarossa.*—After his death, the contest was renewed with double energy. Conrad having been elected by the diet of Coblenz, Henry the Proud, who had thought himself sure of the crown, refused to recognize him. The diet of Wurtzburgh stripped him of his states, which were divided between the Margrave of Austria and the lords of Brandenburg. But the Saxons protested energetically in the name of Henry the Lion, the young son of Henry the Proud, while his brother Welf VI. maintained himself in Bavaria; and it was only by having Saxony restored to Henry at the diet of Frankfort (1142), that the emperor could put an end to hostilities. The voice of St. Bernard calling the people to the second crusade, appeased all these troubles for a moment. Conrad set out with seventy thousand warriors, while Henry the Lion accomplished his vow by making war upon the idolatrous Slavonians, and extending his states towards the north. But the contest seemed to be upon the point of reviving, when

Conrad's death left the crown to *Frederic Barbarossa*, duke of Suabia (1152).

This prince, who as soon as he mounted the throne decided as arbitrator between the princes of Denmark, gave the title of king to the duke of Bohemia and compelled the king of Hungary to do him homage, hastened nevertheless to satisfy most of the pretensions of his rivals by restoring Bavaria to Henry the Lion, and Tuscany to the brother of Henry the Proud. The affairs of Italy already called him beyond the Alps.

188. *Troubles in Italy.—First expedition of Frederic beyond the Alps.*—Pope *Innocent II.* had just recognized Roger II. king of Sicily, Apulia, and Calabria, on condition of tribute and homage, when great troubles broke out at Rome. A monk, of an ardent, enthusiastic spirit and captivating eloquence, *Arnaldo da Brescia*, disciple of Abelard, declaimed vehemently against the temporal power of the popes—denying them even the right of governing Rome, where he wished to re-establish the republic; and calling upon the pope and bishops to surrender their estates, and live upon the alms of believers. The people embraced his doctrines with transport; and *Innocent II.*, *Celestine II.*, and *Lucius II.*, found all their efforts vain to stem the torrent. The republic was proclaimed by the people, and the sovereign power conferred upon Count Giordano, with the title of patrician. Pope *Lucius* was mortally wounded in an assault upon the capitol. *Eugene III.* succeeded in re-entering the city, with the aid of the citizens of Tivoli (1149); but *Adrian IV.* (1154) was driven away by a new revolution, and called the emperor *Frederic* to his assistance. At the same time, several cities of Lombardy in league with Pavia, devoted themselves to the imperial or Ghibelline cause, in order to obtain the protection of the emperor against the powerful city of Milan.



Frederic, sure of finding partisans beyond the Alps, hastened to Italy. The Milanese were compelled to open their gates, and swear allegiance to him; and Pavia offered him the crown of Lombardy. Arnaldo da Brescia perished at the stake; but the republicans shut the gates of Rome, and the haughty German, in the midst of his triumph, was compelled to receive the imperial crown in a suburb without entering the city. He returned to Germany to prepare the means of vengeance.

189. *Contest between Frederic and pope Alexander III.—League of Lombardy.*—But foreign intervention had rallied all minds to the national cause. The pope, who no longer had any thing to fear from Arnaldo da Brescia, was little disposed to acknowledge the imperial supremacy. Thus his interest was opposed to that of the empire, and the quarrel of Guelphs and Ghibellines became the quarrel of the Holy See and the empire. Four jurists agreed in declaring that the emperor was legally possessed of universal sovereignty, and Frederic began the exercise of it by attempting to annul the election of Alexander III. (1160–1181). Alexander replied by a bull of excommunication, and by calling the Guelphs of Lombardy, William II. of Sicily, and all Christian princes, to his defence. The emperor advanced at the head of his army, burning the harvests, laying waste the fields, and massacring the prisoners that fell into his hands. After a long siege, in which the citizens displayed the greatest firmness and self-devotion, he took Milan, threw down the walls, and passed the ploughshare over its smoking ruins.

For a moment, the Lombards were terror-struck and submitted to the emperor. But exasperated by the cruelties of the imperial governors (*podestà*), they found courage in indignation, and formed a league for the enfranchisement of Italy (1167). The pope declared for *the league of Lombardy*. Venice sided with the Guelphs (anti-imperialists), because

Genoa, her rival, had declared for the Ghibellines; and the pope, in reward, granted her the sovereignty of the Adriatic. The inhabitants of Milan, who had been dispersed through the neighboring towns, collected together and rebuilt their city. Then all joined together and built another city, as a check upon Pavia—*Alessandria della paglia*. Frederic laid siege to the new city before the ramparts were completed (1174), but was compelled to retire; and the defeat of Legnano put an end to his absolute supremacy in Italy. At last peace was made at Constance (1183), and the independence of the allied cities secured with the acknowledgment of the suzerainty of the emperor. Frederic and the pope met at Venice, and the imperial crown was again humbled before the tiara.

190. *Power of the emperor in Italy after the union of the kingdom of the two Sicilies.*—In the contest between the pope and the emperor, the Normans had remained attached to the papal party ever since Innocent II. had conferred upon Roger II. the title of king of the two Sicilies. The new kingdom was going to take a very different part under the dynasty which succeeded to the Normans. Frederic Barbarossa had prepared this change by marrying his son to Roger's daughter (1186). Shortly after, he died in the crusade (v. Hist. of the Crusades, ch. xii.). His son Henry VI., already king of the Romans and soon after emperor, claimed the inheritance of Roger. The pope, of whom the Norman fiefs of Italy were held, unwilling to leave this rich and beautiful country in the hands of strangers, conferred the investiture upon Tancred, an illegitimate son of the last king. But Henry crushed the national party, and revenged himself upon the leader of the Sicilian army by having him tied upon a throne of red-hot iron, and crowned with a crown of burning copper. Italy trembled at his cruelty. The limits of the empire reached the extremities of the peninsula, surrounding the papal terri-

tories on all sides and menacing their independence more than ever. It required an *Innocent III.*, imitator of Gregory VII., to resist the encroachments of imperial power, subdue the republican spirit in Rome, revive the religious impulse throughout Europe, and organize a new crusade.

191. *Pontificate of Innocent III.—Accession of Frederic II.*—In a pontificate of eighteen years (1198–1216), Innocent restores the ascendancy of the Holy See, and governs Europe by his energetic will. In Italy, the states of the church recover their unity and peace. In France he sustains the rights of the church, those of an outraged princess against the powerful Philip Augustus (v. ch. xv. § i.), and excites the crusade against the Albigensis (ch. xv.). In England he receives the homage of the king, which makes the whole kingdom a fief of the pope. In the north, he sends missionaries to conquer Estonia, Prussia, and Livonia. In the East, he revives the crusades, and for a short time the Greek church submits to the Roman (ch. xii. § iv.); and finally, he protects the young *Frederic*, the successor of Henry VI. in Sicily against his powerful rivals, Philip of Suabia and Otho IV. of Brunswick. *Frederic* was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle (1215), and had his son Henry proclaimed king of Sicily.

192. *Frederic's contest with the pope and the cities of Lombardy.*—*Frederic*, who owed his elevation to the Holy See, gave proof of his gratitude by renouncing the succession of the countess Matilda. But no sooner had he been crowned emperor at Rome, and obtained for his son the title of king of the Romans, than he changed his policy. With such a character it could not have been otherwise; for he was full as ambitious as the pope himself, crafty, a skilful dissembler, unscrupulous in the choice of means, and not much disposed to yield to extravagant pretensions advanced in the name of a religion which he did not believe. The pope (*Honorius*

*III.*, 1216–1227) taking the alarm at his success in southern Italy, where his chancellor *Pietro delle Vigne* had established a new legislation, endeavored to force him to join the crusades; and just as he was upon the point of setting out for the Holy Land, fulminated a bull of excommunication, and preached a crusade against him in Italy. At the same time he roused the cities of Lombardy, which formed a new league for the independence of Italy with Milan at their head (1225), and sent his own troops to invade the kingdom of Naples. Frederic returning from the crusade, defeated the rebels, who were united under the guidance of his own son Henry; and followed up his success with the aid of the ferocious *Eccellino*, chief of the Ghibellines of Lombardy. The Lombard league, after various vicissitudes, and after having at one time forced Frederic to grant them an advantageous peace, was reduced to a few cities which were defended with difficulty (1238). But pope Gregory IX. (1227–1241), already nearly a hundred years old, but of an energy which age had not diminished, roused new enemies against the emperor in every direction, and convoked a general council. The great victory of *Meloria*, gained by Frederic's natural son, the beautiful *Enzio*, was a death-blow to the pope (1241), but failed to secure the triumph of the imperial cause.

193. *Deposition of the emperor.—New wars.—Death of Frederic.—His portrait.*—After an interregnum of eighteen months, the tiara was placed upon the head of *Innocent IV.*, who, being obliged to flee from Italy (1245), opened a council at Lyons, to which he cited the emperor. Frederic refused to appear, and the pope pronounced with great solemnity an anathema and decree of deposition. Most of the German princes sustained his decision, and raised two pretenders to the throne. But it was no longer that great contest between church and empire, which had divided Europe. The strug-

gle had resumed the proportions of a party quarrel, and St. Lewis with all his piety, refused to declare for the pope against the emperor. Frederic, at the news of his deposition, had seized the imperial crown; and putting it upon his head, exclaimed—"Innocent has not yet snatched it from me; and before he can do it, rivers of blood shall flow." The mediation of St. Lewis could not prevent civil war from breaking out anew in Germany and Italy. Eccellino and Frederic vied with one another in ferocity. Crowds of prisoners were massacred daily; and others horribly mutilated, and then set free to carry the terror of their fate among their friends. At last, Frederic's partisans grew tired. They were horror-struck at seeing him replace his German guard by a guard of Saracens, and give up Christians to the fury of infidels in the heart of Italy. Abandoned by all, betrayed even by those who had served him most faithfully, tormented by suspicion and apprehensions of the attempts which his excommunication might excite against his person, he ended his days in a remote corner of Italy (1250) a prey to grief and despair.

Thus passed in deplorable disputes, a reign which might have been glorious for Germany and the whole of Europe. Vastly superior, by his political views and the extent of his knowledge, to the greater part of his contemporaries, Frederic loved the arts and sciences; spoke several languages with facility; took pleasure in drawing the learned men of all countries to his court; formed libraries and universities, and favored with all his power the early dawn of civilization. But all his efforts were sterile, and his work did not survive him. The Christian Europe of the middle ages could not rally around a king, whose manners and belief seemed to fit him for a Mussulman rather than for a Christian throne.

## CHAPTER XII.

### HISTORY OF THE CRUSADES.

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#### SUMMARY.

§ I. State of Europe at the moment of the first crusade.—Power of feudalism.—State of the East.—Decay of the Greek empire, which invokes the assistance of the West.—Oppression of the Christians of the East under the Seljukites and Fatimites.

§ II. *Peter the Hermit.*—*Urban II.*—*Council of Clermont.*—*First crusade.*—*Taking of Nicæ.*—*Battle of Dorylaeum.*—*Principalities of Antioch and Edessa.*—*Taking of Jerusalem.*—*Godfrey of Bouillon, king of Jerusalem.*—*Organization of the new kingdom.*—Orders of knighthood.—Successors of Godfrey of Bouillon.—*Noureddin.*—Decay of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

St. Bernard preaches the second crusade undertaken by the emperor Conrad, and Lewis VII. of France.—Reverses in Asia Minor.—*Saladin.*—*Battle of Tiberiad.*—*Taking of Jerusalem.*

§ III. *Third crusade.*—*Frederic Barbarossa* dies in Cilicia.—*Philip Augustus*, and *Richard Cœur de Lion.*—Their disputes.—Return of the king of France.—Useless exploits, return, and captivity of *Richard.*—*Kingdom of Cyprus.*

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Crusade of children.—Efforts of *Innocent III.* to revive the ardor for the holy wars.—Fifth and sixth crusades undertaken by German princes.—*Frederic II.* in Palestine.—His policy with regard to the Mussalmen.

Invasion of the Moguls.—Gengis or Tchenghis-Khan.—His conquests in Asia.—Invasion of the Moguls in Europe.

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Invasion of the Mamelukes in Palestine.—Eighth crusade in Africa.—Death of St. Lewis under the walls of Tunis.—Treaty concluded by Charles of Anjou.—Destruction of the Christian power in the East.

§ VI. Political results of the crusades.—Enfeeblement of feudality.—Chivalry.—Development of the commons.—Extension of the royal power.—Different people gradually brought nearer together.—Commercial, industrial, and literary results.

## § I.

### STATE OF EUROPE AT THE EPOCH OF THE FIRST CRUSADE.— STATE OF THE EAST.

194. *Power of feudality.*—At the end of the eleventh century, Europe seemed admirably prepared for some great external movement; for the nations, still imperfectly organized and whom the royal power could neither restrain nor direct, were a prey to restless agitation under feudal oppression. The pontifical power, triumphant in its contest with the empire, offered a common centre and could move the people at will. It had broken up, for a short time, the great national wars, and realized in a certain sense that great Christian unity which, in spite of the infinite diversity of national interests, feelings, and manners, was ready to move as one body under the influence of the religious feeling by which it had been organized. The feudal aristocracy, constantly agitated by those private wars which, without any

permanent result, spread desolation through provinces and kingdoms, was only waiting for an occasion to display its turbulent activity in greater expeditions.

195. *State of the different people of Europe.*—Some people, however, had their crusade at home, and could not follow the general impulse. Spain had to defend western Europe against Islamism. The Almoravides had just crossed over from Africa; but Henry of Burgundy built up the kingdom of Portugal, as a barrier against them (1094). Alphonzo VI. of Castile, and Peter of Aragon, were extending their frontiers; and the *Cid Campeador*, the hero of Christian Spain, established an independent principality at Valencia. At the other extremity of Europe, the struggle between Christianity and idolatry was still going on among the Scandinavians and Slavonians. Russia was a prey to constant discord. The Christians of Poland were constantly at war with the pagans of Prussia, whose final conquest was reserved for the Teutonic knights. In Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, there was a contest from province to province between king and people; and at the movement of the first crusade (1095), Erick, the best king of Denmark, could only undertake a sterile pilgrimage, while the *good Inge* of Sweden was burning the pagan temples of Upsal, and overthrowing the idols.

In central Europe, the voice of the sovereign pontiff could not be raised in vain. Germany, still troubled by the long war which her princes had sustained against the Holy See, and by the political rivalry of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, yielded slowly to the general impulse. But in France, the feudal power was being developed in all its energy under the indolent Philip I., and was all ready for a great effort. In England, the warlike and adventurous spirit of the Normans had entered with the conqueror, and drew off one of his sons to the Holy Land. The Normans of Italy, whose prodigious exploits had created three new principalities, were



already sending their armies against the southern province of Greece.

196. *State of the East.—Oppression of the Christians.*—In the East, all was division and decay. Alexis Comnenes, pressed at the same time by Robert Guiscard and the troops of the Turk, Malek-Schah, despaired of being able to continue his resistance alone. The Seljûk empire was divided when Malek-Schah died, but still the Mussulman invasion drew nearer and nearer to Europe. Then the Greek emperor addressed his *lamentable supplications* to the West, calling all her people to the defence of religion and humanity.

The people of the West had also injuries of their own to avenge. From the earliest times, pilgrimages had been a favorite penance among Christians. They believed that the benediction of Heaven was promised to those who visited Calvary or the tomb of Christ; or renewed their baptism in the waters of the Jordan. Under Constantine, and after Helen had built magnificent churches at Golgotha and Bethlehem, they became still more frequent, and were not stopped by the disastrous period of the invasion. The Barbarians respected the cross and staff of the humble traveller.

When Judea fell with Syria into the hands of the Mussulmen, the Christians could still continue their pious journeys with some degree of security—at least during the brilliant period of the caliphate. But when the Mussulman empire fell to decay, a frightful tyranny replaced the tolerance of the first caliphs. Believers were overwhelmed with vexations, subjected to enormous tributes. A leather girdle at their waist showed that they were looked upon as slaves. More than once they were forbidden to celebrate the rites of their religion, and their churches were turned into stables. A few monks (1048) collected in a convent near the church of the Holy Sepulchre, offered their hospitality to the Christians of the West. But the charity of the *Brothers of St. John of*

*Jerusalem* was powerless against the hatred of the unbelievers. The pilgrims who dared to encounter persecution, generally came back plundered by the Saracens; and weeping the misfortunes of the holy city, which the conquest of Jerusalem by the Seljuk Turks had carried to the highest point (1086). Gregory called Christendom to the deliverance of the holy places; but his voice was not heard amid the quarrels of the West. In Palestine, meanwhile, the oppression grew worse from day to day. The Christians were thrown into dungeons, with their priests and bishops; and a great number of pilgrims were put to death before they reached Jerusalem. The recapture of the holy city by the Fatimites (1094), exposed them to the vengeance of an irritated conqueror.

## § II.

## CHRISTIAN KINGDOM AT JERUSALEM.

197. *Peter the Hermit preaches the first crusade.—Council of Clermont.*—At last a poor hermit by the name of *Peter* appears before Urban. II. He tells him that he has seen the holy places profaned, and has wept with the patriarch of Jerusalem. He crosses the Alps barefoot and with a crucifix in his hand, to relate the sufferings of his brethren. At the same time the emperor of the East, Alexis Comnenes, invokes earnestly the assistance of Christendom. An immense multitude collects at the council of Clermont (1095). They renew the *Truce of God*, to think only of the holy war. The voice of Urban and of Peter stirs the whole assembly to enthusiasm. *It is the will of God*, is the cry. The bishop of Puy is the first to receive the cross from the hands of the pope; and all mark the holy sign upon their robes, swearing

that they will free the holy sepulchre. "If any one," says the council, "sets out for Jerusalem, not for honor or gain, but from a spirit of devotion, this journey shall be to him in the stead of every other penance." At the same time, it put the crusaders, their families, and their estates under the protection of the church, suspending all their debts during their journey to the Holy Land.

A first band set out before the time marked by Urban. Men, women, and children marched together towards the East, without arms and without provisions; and with no other guide than Peter the Hermit, and a poor gentleman called Walter the Penniless. They were soon compelled to separate, and most of them perished in Hungary, or in Asia Minor.

198. *Departure of the crusaders.—Battle of Dorylaeum.—Taking of Jerusalem.*—But their fate did not discourage others. Soon a regular army set forward with *Godfrey of Bouillon*, duke of Lower Lorraine, at its head; and his brothers *Baldwin* and *Eustachius*, *Raymond of Toulouse*, *Bohemond of Tarentum*, and his nephew *Tancred*, and a great number of other nobles. The pontifical power was represented by *Ademar of Montiel*, the pope's legate; but no king appeared at the head of the movement; the power was still in the hands of the feudal aristocracy.

At the approach of these redoubtable auxiliaries, the emperor *Alexis*, trembling for his own states, made all haste to furnish them with vessels to cross the Bosphorus. Six hundred thousand (?) crusaders passed into Asia Minor, where they found Peter the Hermit, who had escaped from the disasters which had destroyed his companions.

The first exploit of the Christians, was the siege of Nice. But just as they were about to enter the city, it was given up to the emperor *Alexis*, who, fearing the power of the crusaders almost as much as that of the Turks, was beginning to em-

ploy the most odious means for the destruction of those who had come to his assistance. Thus it was only through a thousand obstacles that they succeeded in overtaking the army of the sultan of Roum, near *Dorylaeum*. In the first surprise of a sudden attack, the crusaders wavered for a moment ; but soon rallying to the cry of *God wills it*, swept the field in triumph.

Baldwin, by the advice of an Armenian prince, advances to Edessa, where he is adopted by the king and founds the first Christian principality in the East. At the same time, the crusaders, masters of Tarsus, which Tancred and Bohemond had carried by assault, cross the Taurus and lay siege to Antioch. They were already reduced to a hundred thousand fighting men ; and the plague, famine, and their own dissensions, decimated them anew under the walls of this powerful capital of Syria. Finally, the gates were opened by a renegade : the army of the sultans of Aleppo and Damascus came only to be cut to pieces, and the city was given to Bohemond, who soon extended his sway over the neighboring provinces. The army still continued to advance. In 1099, it reached Jerusalem, exhausted by battles and disease ; and yet, still full of enthusiasm and valor. After a short siege, a brilliant assault gave them the city in spite of the obstinate defence of the besieged. But a frightful massacre dishonored the triumph of the soldiers of the cross. Godfrey turned in horror from the scene of carnage, and dropping his arms, went barefoot to pray in the church of the Resurrection ; and his example disarmed, it is said, the fury of his followers.

199. *Godfrey of Bouillon, king of Jerusalem.*—*Orders of knighthood.*—*Godfrey of Bouillon*, whose virtues and valor the whole army admired, was elected king of Jerusalem ; and refusing to wear a crown of gold, where the Saviour of the world had worn a crown of thorns, he took only the title of

baron of the Holy Sepulchre. The victory of Ascalon, in which he defeated the armies of Bagdad, Damascus, and Egypt, united against the common enemy, confirmed his rising dominion. The exploits of Tancred, the bravest of the Christian knights, completed the conquest of Judea. At the same time Godfrey was occupied with organizing his government. The code of the *assizes of Jerusalem* introduced the feudal system into Asia. The king had his vassals and rear-vassals. The counties of Edessa and Tripoli, with the principalities of Antioch and Galilee, were the great fiefs of the new kingdom. A *superior court*, in which the king presided in person, judged the causes of the lords. Those of the commons were brought to an inferior court. For the natives, there was a Syrian tribunal. Several cities received municipal privileges, and governed themselves. Chivalry, which in Europe was consecrated to the protection of the weak and the oppressed, devoted itself in the East to the defence of the faith and the destruction of unbelievers. The *brothers hospitallers*, who had been established to take care of pilgrims, took up arms for the defence of the new kingdom, and became the knights of *St. John of Jerusalem*. The celebrated order of the knights of the *Temple*, who undertook to be always the first to engage and the last to retreat, was founded shortly after (1119); and in 1190, the *Teutonic* knights. These warriors soon became the terror of the Mussulmen, and the strongest support of the Christian power in the East.

200. *Godfrey's successors.*—*Decline of the kingdom of Jerusalem.*—Godfrey died a year after the taking of Jerusalem, and was replaced by his brother *Baldwin* (1100). Under the reign of this prince and that of his successor *Baldwin II.* (1118–1131), the crusaders continued to gain ground in spite of the defeat and captivity of the brave Bohemond of Antioch, and the rapid decline of his principality. The taking of St. John of Acre, of Beyruth, and Sidon by Baldwin, and that of

Tyre—which was attacked at the same time by the army of Baldwin II. and the fleet of the Venetians—extended the Christian dominion on the shores of the Mediterranean. *Foulques of Anjou*, taking advantage of the dissensions of the infidels (1131–1142), obtained some success; and saved Damascus with the aid of the Greeks, sincere allies for the first time, of the orthodox Christians. But with his death ended the prosperity of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Young *Baldwin III.* (1142–1162), had hardly received the crown when his throne was shaken by the conquests of Zenghi, sovereign of several Turkish sultanates which he had conquered successively, and the triumphs of his still more dreaded son *Noureddin*. In spite of the energetic defence of the old Josselin of Courtenay, who, though mortally wounded, still led his soldiers to victory, Edessa, capital of the most flourishing Christendom of the East, fell into the hands of the infidels. The Christians uttered a cry of terror which reached Europe.

201. *Second crusade.*—*Conrad and Lewis VII.*—The illustrious *St. Bernard* undertook to preach a new crusade. At the assembly of Vezelay (1147), and in spite of the advice of the wise Suger, abbot of St. Dennis, he made Lewis VII. take the cross as a reparation for the massacre of Vitry. His wife, Eleonora; the counts of Toulouse, of Champagne, of Flanders; and a multitude of inferior nobles, followed their example. So great was the enthusiasm, that St. Bernard tore up his robe to furnish crosses to those who wished to enrol themselves under the holy banner. The emperor Conrad, drawn away by the eloquent preacher, received a consecrated banner from his hands, and swore to go wherever the will of Heaven called him. He was the first to set out. But his soldiers, betrayed by the guides whom the treacherous emperor of the East, Manuel Comnenes, had given them, were surprised and defeated in the defiles of Lycaonia; and the king of France, on his arrival at Nice, found nothing but

the remnants of an army which had set forth in such brilliant array and with so much hope. Then dissensions sprang up among the chiefs. Lewis the Younger was near perishing in the defiles of Pamphylia, where he fought for a long time all alone, with his back to a rock ; and only escaped, because he was taken for a common soldier. Fatigue, famine, the perfidy, of the Greeks who shut the gates of their cities upon the crusaders, had decimated the army when it arrived before Damascus. This powerful city, protected by its high walls and the strong palisades which surrounded its gardens, was besieged without success ; and the two princes soon returned to Europe, without soldiers and without glory.

202, *Conquest of Saladin.—Battle of Tiberiad.—Fall of the kingdom of Jerusalem.*—Meanwhile, Jerusalem had not received the succor which she implored, and Baldwin III. continued his difficult struggle against Nouredin. *Amaury* (1162–1173), his successor, after several unsuccessful expeditions against Egypt, saw that country fall into the hands of *Saladin*, son of Ayoub. It was all over with the kingdom of Jerusalem. Amaury, and his successor Baldwin IV. (1173–1183), did all that they could to defend their kingdom ; but in spite of all their efforts, Saladin's dominion spread with menacing rapidity. Once again, the cross triumphed in the plains of Ascalon. Baldwin, though blind and a leper, cut the army of the infidels in pieces ; and Saladin fled across the desert, crying out that the *star of the family of Ayoub had paled* (1176). But the fruits of the victory were lost by the proud presumption of the Christians. Saladin regained the advantage, and was already overrunning the Christian states, when, at the death of *Baldwin V.* (1186), the sceptre passed to the hands of the feeble *Guy of Lusignan*. The degradation of the royal authority ; the all-powerful influence of the military orders, which, moreover, were divided among themselves ; the corruption of manners and neglect of discipline,

had prepared the ruin of the kingdom of Jerusalem. The massacre of five hundred knights in Galilee, was the prelude of the bloody battle of Tiberiad (1187). This day, the Christians fought heroically; and well they might, for it was to decide the fate of Christianity in the East. The knights of St. John and the knights of the Temple, gathering around the *true cross*, repulsed every attack. But Saladin set fire to the grass of the plain. The Christians, surrounded by smoke and flames, fought only at venture; and their ranks were already beginning to fall into disorder, when the capture of the true cross by the infidels, struck terror into the boldest heart. Guy of Lusignan and the grand-master of the Templars, fell into the hands of the Mussulmen; the last defenders of the holy sepulchre were taken or slain. The sultan, enraged at the resistance which he had encountered, had a great many knights killed in cold blood. Immediately Jericho, Ptolemais, Cesarea, Jaffa, and Ascalon, the city of glorious memories, opened their gates to the conqueror. Jerusalem, pressed on all sides, held out with difficulty a few days longer. The inhabitants bought their lives with gold, but were driven from the city; and the churches were changed to mosques.

### § III.

#### CRUSADES BY SEA.

203. *Third crusade.*—*Frederic Barbarossa.*—*Philip Augustus.*—*Richard Cœur de Lion.*—The fall of Jerusalem, which ought to have been long foreseen, caused a general consternation in Europe. William, archbishop of Tyre, eye-witness of this great disaster, came to tell the sad tale to the princes of the West. At his voice, Philip Augustus of



France, and Richard of England, take the cross. A tax of a tenth is imposed upon all the lands of the two kingdoms, without excepting even those of the church (Saladin's tithe), to meet the expenses of the expedition. The emperor Frederic Barbarossa, sets out first with an army of a hundred thousand men (1189). Following the route traced by the old crusaders, he crosses Greece, intimidates the cowardly Isaac Angelus, who had made an alliance with Saladin, and advances through Asia Minor in spite of the attacks and treason of the sultan of Iconium ; but dies from bathing in the icy waters of the Selef, after having lost the greater part of his troops. The feeble remnants of his army went to join the other crusaders under the orders of his son, Frederic of Suabia.

The kings of France and England, profiting better by the example of the first crusaders, had avoided the dangers of the route over land, by embarking together at Marseilles. In Sicily, where they quarrelled on account of an usurper, they separated ; and Philip landed first before St. John of Acre (Ptolemais), which king Lusignan, having regained his liberty, was besieging with Conrad marquis of Tyre. Unfortunately, strong dissensions prevailed among these chiefs. Conrad and Lusignan contended for the sterile title of king of Jerusalem. Richard of England had irritated Philip anew, by marrying a princess of Navarre instead of his sister ; and while the king of France was fighting the infidels, the king of England had stopped on his way to make war on Isaac Comnenes king of Cyprus, and strip him of his states. The duke of Austria, whom Richard insulted before the walls of Acre, swore eternal hatred against him. The reconciliation of these princes was but a show ; and no sooner had the city fallen, after three years of siege and nine bloody battles, than Philip Augustus re-embarked for France (1191).

204. *Richard's exploits in Palestine.—Kingdom of Cyprus.*—Richard, now left alone, won the name of *Lion-hearted*, by exploits worthy of the heroes of romance. The Christians called him Alexander, Achilles, Judas Macchabee: no Saracen could stand before him. Once he advanced alone with his lance in hand towards seventy thousand Mussulmen, without one of them daring to accept the challenge. Paynim mothers used his name as a terror to their children. And yet all that he won by his prodigies of valor was a brilliant, but vain renown. His army, exhausted in combats that led to no results, was unable to take Jerusalem. He saw it, however, from the heights of Emmaus; and turning away with his eyes full of tears, exclaimed, "He is not worthy to see the holy city, who is not able to win it." He had offered Saladin to quit Syria, if he would restore him Jerusalem and the true cross. Saladin refused, and a council of twenty barons decided upon retreat. Richard re-embarked, after having concluded a simple truce, and obtained permission for Christian pilgrims to visit the holy places. Cast by a tempest, on his return, upon the territories of the duke of Austria, the hero of Christendom fell into the hands of his bitterest enemy, and suffered all the sorrows of a sad and severe captivity.

Richard had sold the kingdom of Cyprus to Guy of Lusignan, the former king of Jerusalem, who relinquished all thoughts of the holy city. The title of king of Jerusalem was given to count Henry of Champagne; and under the shelter of the revolutions which shook the whole of Asia, the family of Lusignan reigned three hundred years over the little kingdom of Cyprus.

## § IV.

IMPORTANCE OF VENICE IN THE FOURTH CRUSADE.—FRANK  
EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

205. *Fourth crusade diverted from its object.—Taking of Constantinople.*—These disasters began to diminish the zeal for the holy wars. Meanwhile, after Saladin's death, his brother Malek-Adel, as brave and as enterprising as he, threatened the last remains of the Christian kingdom in the East. An army of Germans and Hungarians (1195–1197) was sent into Palestine, and checked his progress for an instant: but a much greater effort was necessary. Innocent III., worthy successor of Gregory VII. and Urban II., aroused the ardor of the Christians and called all Europe to a new crusade, which was preached by Foulques of Neuilly. The lords of Champagne and Flanders took the cross under the orders of *Boniface* of Montferrat and Count *Baldwin* of Flanders. The Venetians were called to furnish vessels to transport them into Palestine.

Already the original character of the crusades was changed. Religious enthusiasm, the sole spring of the two first, had given place to a romantic love of glory. Other motives, still less elevated, now began to appear, and ambition and cupidity turned towards these distant expeditions as a source of aggrandizement or of gain. Venice, which was beginning to extend her commerce along the shores of the Mediterranean, and whose merchants longed for the rich products of the East, thought, when she saw the ambassadors of the crusaders come to ask the assistance of her fleets, that the moment had arrived in which her hopes were to be realized. Henry Dandolo, the doge, granted a fleet for an enormous sum, and the crusaders being unable to pay it, he

offered to release them from their obligation, if they would help the republic retake the city of Zara, which had been seized by the king of Hungary. The crusade, thus diverted from its object by the policy of Venice, was destined never to attain it. In spite of the repeated remonstrances of Innocent III., the prayers of *Isaac Angelus*, emperor of Constantinople, whom his brother had dethroned and blinded (1202), the artful insinuations of the Venetians decided the crusaders to interfere in the affairs of the East. The Venetian ships appeared in the Bosphorus, and the two hundred thousand soldiers who defended the capital of the degenerate empire were unable to withstand the attack of the Franks (1203). The usurper was overthrown: Isaac, blind and a prisoner, was replaced upon the throne with his son Alexis, and the crusaders began at last to prepare for the invasion of the Holy Land. But the Greeks would not submit to be governed by the emperor whom foreign arms had given them. The murder of Alexis by *Ducas Murzuphlus* called the Latins to vengeance, and Constantinople was taken after two assaults (1204).

206. *Latin empire of Constantinople.—Its decline and fall.*—The leaders of the conquerors divided the conquest. Baldwin, count of Flanders, was proclaimed emperor of the East: Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, king of Thessaly: the French Ville-Hardouin, sovereign of Achaia. The Venetians who had led the expedition, took for themselves the best part of the spoils. They obtained half of Constantinople, the Sporades, the Cyclades, the coasts of Propontis and the Euxine, the sea-coast of Thessaly, several cities on the Egean, &c.

But all the possessions of the Greeks had not fallen with the capital. *Theodore Lascaris* founded the empire of Nice in Asia Minor (1205); *Alexis* and *David Comnenes* the principality of Trebizond: *Michel Angelo Comnenes* had himself proclaimed king of Thessaly. They had not long to wait

for the ruin of the Latin empire. The Genoese, rivals of the Venetians, lent their aid to the Greeks. Baldwin had hardly taken possession of Constantinople when his throne was shaken by successive reverses: and the Latin empire, after having struggled for fifty years against the Bulgarians and the Greeks of Nice, was overthrown under *Baldwin II.* by *Michel Paleologos*, who re-established the old Eastern Empire and became the founder of a new dynasty (1261).

207. *Efforts of Innocent III. to kindle the zeal of the holy wars.—Fifth crusade.*—Meanwhile the Christians of the East had received no succor from the fourth crusade. Innocent III. raised once more that voice which he had so often raised in vain, and wondering Europe saw an army of children cross France (1212), and embark at Marseilles for the Holy Land. But many died of fatigue during the voyage, and the rest were taken by the Turks near St. John of Acre. Innocent, not yet discouraged, offered the tithe of his own revenues and of those of the cardinals, to repay the expenses of the expedition. At last the Christian princes consented to take up arms once more in defence of the holy places: but their efforts were unsuccessful, and these expeditions, no longer productive of any real results, ended not long after by the death on a foreign shore of the greatest sovereign of Europe.

The fifth and sixth crusades began in Germany. Frederic II., at the urgent solicitation of his guardian, Innocent III., had consented to put himself at the head of the army of the crusaders. But Innocent died, and the emperor refusing to perform his promise, was replaced by *Andrew II.*, king of Hungary, who was joined by *John of Brienne*, king of Jerusalem, and *Hugh of Lusignan*, king of Cyprus. The princes had hardly appeared before St. John of Acre, when Andrew returned home, and Hugh died suddenly. John, with-

out being discouraged, carried the war into Egypt, according to the counsels of Innocent III., defeated the Mussulmen, and but for the obstinacy of the papal legate, *Pelagio*, who would not consent to any treaty with infidels, would have recovered Jerusalem, which the sultan Malek-al-Kasnel offered to restore. The inundation of the Nile reduced the crusaders to a disastrous retreat, and John, returning to Europe, gave Frederic the hand of his daughter Yoland, with all his claims to the kingdom of Jerusalem (1225).

208. *Sixth crusade.—Frederic II.*—With this new motive to engage in the defence of the Holy Land, and at the same time solicited by the sultan Malek-al-Kasnel, who was menaced by a serious revolt, Frederic appeared at last in Palestine (1228), although still under the ban of excommunication. He obtained the surrender of Jerusalem by a treaty with Al-Kasnel, consenting, however, to leave a mosque there for the convenience of the Mussulmen. This concession excited the liveliest indignation among the Templars and Hospitalers who had fought for him. The bishop of Cesarea laid Jerusalem under interdict, forbidding pilgrims to enter it. But the emperor entered at the head of his barons, and caused himself to be proclaimed king (1229), although no bishop could be found to place the crown upon his excommunicated head. At his approach, the priests veiled the sacred images of their temples, and the champion of the cross was every where denounced as the enemy of God. He took his vengeance, by having the monks who preached against him publicly whipped, and returned from the crusade, leaving both Turks and Christians equally dissatisfied with the results of his expedition.

209. *Genghis-Khan.—Invasion of the East and of Europe by the Moguls.*—A terrible episode broke in for a moment upon the course of the crusades. While the little kingdom of Jerusalem, reduced to a few cities, was defending itself

with difficulty in a corner of Judea ; and the empire of the East, slipping from the grasp of the Latins, was about to return to its ancient masters, a frightful convulsion shook Asia, and made Europe herself tremble at the swiftest and most formidable invasion of which history has preserved the record. The nation of the Huns, which had sent forth Attila, gave him a worthy successor in *Genghis-Khan*.

The Moguls; sprung from the Hunnish race, lived in insulated tribes in the immense plains of Asia. The young Temoudgyn, chief of one of these tribes, at the age of thirteen succeeded in baffling the plots of his ambitious relations, and prepared the way by their punishment for the devastations by which he was to terrify the world. All the Tartars submitted to him voluntarily or by force, on the word of a hermit, who had given him the surname of Genghis-Khan, and the Barbarian set out upon the conquest of the world at the head of the whole Mogul nation, who had sworn to follow him wherever he led (1206). He crossed the great wall of China, and penetrated as far as Peking. Then leaving one of his generals to complete the conquest, he turned rapidly towards the west. The empire of the Kowaresmians, extending from the frontiers of Turkistan to those of India, attempted to stop his destructive march ; but he cut in pieces their army of four hundred thousand men, took their capital by assault, and entered the great mosque on horseback to tread the Koran under foot. The whole country to the Indus was changed into a desert. Already one of his sons had carried the terror of his arms into Russia, and founded the colony of the golden horde near the Caspian Sea. A thousand tributary princes sent their offerings to the resistless conqueror, whose empire, at his death (1227), extended over fifteen hundred leagues in length, and bore witness through the whole of this vast extent to his passage of fire and blood.

The invasion did not cease at his death : but this time it

fell upon Europe. Russia came first: Moscow, Vladimir, Kiev, were sacked by the Moguls, and all Russia soon submitted to their dominion. The dissensions of the European powers, divided by the contest between the pontificate and the empire, favored the progress of the invaders. Poland was inundated by the torrent; neither Bohemia nor Hungary could check these ferocious conquerors, who left ruin and ashes behind them. The duke of Silesia attempted to stand the shock. He was crushed with his army. Germany, and perhaps all Europe, seemed upon the point of falling a prey to these new Barbarians, when the death of the son of Genghis-Khan deprived the Moguls of their chief, and they divided and returned to Asia.

### § V.

#### CRUSADES OF ST. LEWIS IN EGYPT AND AT TUNIS.

210. *Seventh crusade.—St. Lewis in Egypt.*—The invasion of the Moguls had not reached Palestine. But it had driven back upon the Holy Land the ferocious tribe of Kowaresm, which flying before its conquerors, spread every where it came the same devastations which it had left at home. With this aid the sultan of Egypt made himself master of Jerusalem (1244) and Damascus (1245). *St. Lewis* of France (*Lewis IX.*), (v. ch. xv. § i.), learnt with profound grief the desolation of the Holy Land, and swore to avenge the profanation of the holy sepulchre. In spite of the prayers and tears of his mother, Blanche of Castile, he took the cross and gave it to his three brothers, Robert of Artois, Alfonzo of Poitiers, and Charles of Anjou, to Joinville, the faithful and artless historian of the crusade, to most of his nobles, and to Marguerite of Provence herself, the worthy



wife of the greatest and best of kings. Leaving the regency to his mother, he embarked at Aigues-Mortes (June, 1248), and after residing some time in Cyprus, arrived before Damietta. Impatient to reach the shore, he leapt into the sea where the water was up to his shoulders, marched directly towards the enemy, and took the town by assault.

The sultan Malek-Saleh was already retreating: but the Christian army lost precious time at Damietta. At last they resumed their march and reached *Mansourah*. Robert of Artois put to flight a body of the enemy's cavalry, and pursuing them too far, was surrounded and killed (1250). This disastrous combat decided the fate of the campaign. To the valor of the knights, the Saracens opposed the terrible Greek fire, at the sight of which, says Joinville, the bravest fell upon their knees, crying on the Lord for mercy. Meanwhile pestilential miasma spread a rapid contagion through the army. Lewis resolved to retreat: but already the Nile was rising, and a numerous fleet lay in wait to cut him off. The exhausted French were surrounded and incessantly harassed by the Mussulmen. The noble devotion of the knights was of no avail. The intrepid Gaucher of Chatillon defended alone the entrance of a village in which Lewis had taken refuge, and fell at last, covered with wounds. The king, reduced by disease and unable to hold his sword, was compelled to surrender with more than twenty thousand men.

211. *Captivity of St. Lewis.—His return to France.*—This reverse brought out all the resignation and elevation of soul of the royal captive. Al-Mohad, Malek-Saleh's successor, demanded Damietta and a thousand golden byzants for his ransom. "A king of France never ransoms himself for money," said the king. "I will give Damietta for my own person, and will pay a thousand byzants for the liberty of my subjects." But as he was about to be set at liberty, a sudden revolution broke out. The Mamelukes, created by

Malek-Saleh, and who had in a short time become formidable to their masters, killed the sultan, and one of them, still covered with blood, ran to St. Lewis's tent, crying—"Make me a knight, or I will kill you." "Become a Christian and I will make you a knight," replied the king. The Barbarian, struck with admiration, retired without attempting to execute his threat.

At last the Mamelukes restored St. Lewis to liberty, after having made him promise that he would not attempt any thing against Jerusalem. They declared that he was the proudest Christian they had ever seen. He was also the most faithful to his word. He went and passed four years in Palestine, visiting the places still inhabited by the Christians, and repairing the fortifications of their cities. He even made himself feared by the *Old Man of the Mountain*, chief of a tribe of fanatics who were devoted to him, and had killed more than one prince in the midst of his armies. The dagger of the *Assassins* did not frighten the great king, who replied by threats, and their prince hastened to send him magnificent presents, with a ring and a shirt, and to solicit his friendship and alliance. At last, the death of Queen Blanche, in 1254, recalled him to France.

212. *Invasion of Palestine by the Mamelukes.*—His departure left the Christians of the East without a protector, and surrounded by enemies. The Moguls, led by the ferocious *Houlagou*, ravaged the west of Asia, and after having destroyed the sect of the Assassins, at the prayer of the caliph of Bagdad, dethroned the caliph himself. The Mamelukes had proclaimed one of their own chiefs, Bibars Bondouchar, the murderer of the sultan of Egypt. This cruel enemy of the Christians invaded Palestine, massacring every one that refused to embrace Islamism, and writing to the prince of Antioch—"Death has come by every path. If thou hadst seen thy knights crushed under the feet of

horses, thy provinces pillaged, women sold at auction, pulpits and crosses overthrown, the pages of the Gospel scattered to the wind, monk, priest, and deacon slaughtered, and their bones devoured by the fire of this world, thou wouldst have cried out: Would to heaven that I were dust." Cesarea, Tyre, and Jaffa were completely destroyed. A desolation like that had never fallen on Palestine.

213. *Eighth crusade.—Death of St. Lewis.—Destruction of the Christian power in the East.*—At this news, St. Lewis, forgetting the bad success of his first expedition, and thinking only of the afflictions of the church, took the cross and had a crusade preached throughout his kingdom. But a dead silence was the only reply to his appeal. Still he set forth, hurried too by the ambition of his brother Charles of Anjou, who saw nothing but new conquests in these holy expeditions.

By his selfish advice, St. Lewis directed his course towards that part of Africa which lies nearest to Sicily (1270). The king of Tunis, summoned to receive baptism, replied that he would come for it at the head of a hundred thousand men. But Charles of Anjou was not yet arrived, and the king awaited his coming to begin the war.

Meanwhile a contagious disease broke out among the troops. St. Lewis, after having bestowed every care upon those around him, was struck himself by the scourge, and died like a hero and a saint, on the 25th of August, 1270. At last Charles arrived, raised the courage of the soldiers, imposed a peace upon the king of Tunis, and brought back the remnants of the army to Europe. Prince Edward of England, who had taken the cross at the same time, went to the succor of the Christians of the East (1275); but his presence only served to retard the fall of St. John of Acre, the last asylum of Christianity in Asia. This city, which had remained alone in the midst of so many ruins, fell under

the efforts of two hundred thousand Saracens (1291). All was now over. The orders of knights themselves abandoned Asia. The Templars were about to be destroyed. The Hospitallers removed, though somewhat later, to the island of Rhodes: the Teutonic knights established themselves in the north of Germany, in a country half pagan, where they could still fight against unbelievers.

## § VI.

### GENERAL RESULTS OF THE CRUSADES—POLITICAL, COMMERCIAL, INDUSTRIAL, LITERARY.

214. *Political results of the crusades.—Weakening of feudalism.—Chivalry.*—Christendom had not spent in vain its treasures and its blood in the holy wars. Its immense sacrifices were repaid by immense results, and the evils which these great expeditions necessarily brought with them were more than compensated by the advantages which they procured to the whole of Europe.

The crusades saved Europe from the Mussulman invasion, and this was their immediate good. Their influence was felt, too, in a manner less direct, but no less useful. The crusades had been preached by a religion of equality in a society divided by odious distinctions. All had taken part in them, the weak as well as the strong, the serf and the baron, man and woman, and it was by them that the equality of man and woman, which Christianity taught, was made a social fact. St. Lewis declared that he could do nothing without the consent of the queen, his wife. It was from this period that we must date that influence of woman which gave rise to chivalric courtesy, the first step towards refinement of manners and civilization. The poor, too, were the adopt-

ed children of the Christian chivalry of the crusades. The celebrated orders of Palestine were instituted for the protection of poor pilgrims. The knights of the hospital called the poor their masters. Surely no lesson was more needed by those proud barons of the middle ages than that of charity and humility.

These ideas were the first to shake the stern despotism of feudality, by opposing to it the generous principles of chivalry, which sprang all armed from the crusades. Bound to the military orders by a solemn vow, and for the interests of all Christendom, the knight felt himself free from feudal dependence, and raised above national limits, as the immediate warrior and servant of united Christendom and of God. Chivalry, founded not upon territorial influence, but upon personal distinction, necessarily weakened nobility by rendering it accessible to all, and diminishing the interval which separated the different classes of society. Every warrior who had distinguished himself by his valor, could kneel before the king to be dubbed a knight, and rise up the equal, the superior even, of powerful vassals. The poorest knight could sit at the king's table, while the noble son of a duke or prince was excluded, unless he had won the golden spurs of knighthood. Another way by which the crusades contributed to the decay of feudalism was by favoring the enfranchisement of serfs, even without the consent of their masters. Whoever took the cross became free, just as every slave becomes free on touching the soil of England or France.

215. *Extension of the royal power.—Nations and people drawn nearer together.*—The communities whose development is to be referred to the period of the crusades, multiplied rapidly; the nobles gladly granting charters and privileges in exchange for men and money. With the communities the royal power grew, and that of the aristocracy decreased. The royal domain was enlarged, by the escheating of a great

number of fiefs which had been left vacant by the death of their lords. The kings protected the communities, favored their enfranchisement, and employed them usefully against insubordinate vassals. The extension of the royal power favored the organization of the nation, by establishing a principle of unity : for till then, and with that multitude of masters, the nation had been little else than an agglomeration of provinces, strangers to one another, and destitute of any common bond or common interest. The great vassals themselves, often united under the royal banner, became accustomed during these distant expeditions to submission and discipline, and learned to recognize a legitimate authority ; and if they lost by this submission a part of their personal power, they gained in compensation the honorable distinctions of chivalry.

But it was not the national feeling alone which was fostered by the crusades. Relations of fraternity, till then wholly unknown, grew up between different nations, and softened the deep-rooted antipathy of races. The knights, whom a common object united in common dangers, became brothers of arms, and formed permanent ties of friendship. That barbarous law which gave the feudal lord a right to call every man his serf who settled in his domains, was softened. Stranger and enemy ceased to be synonymous, and "the crusaders," say the chronicles of the times, "although divided by language, seemed to form only one people, by their love for God and their neighbor." And without coloring the picture too warmly, and making all due allowance for the exaggerations which were so natural to the first recorders of such a movement, we may say that human society was founded and united, and Europe began to pass from the painful period of organization, to one of fuller and more rapid development.

216. *Commercial, industrial, and literary results.*—Europe was indebted to the crusades also for that material prosperity

which was the natural consequence of the rapid impulse which they gave to industry and commerce. It was in the midst of these great expeditions that the maritime power of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa were developed. The rest of Europe followed the movement, and the Hanseatic league (v. ch. xiii. § ii.) was formed for the commerce of the north. Then Europe began to profit by the productions of distant countries: gathering precious plants for agriculture and medicine: the sugar-cane, maize, and the mulberry. The manufacturing cities strove to imitate the stuffs of Asia, the excellent tempering of its arms, and its industrial products.

This opening of communications, and exchange of arts contributed greatly to the diffusion of knowledge. Mogul ambassadors came to France; and an attempt was made to found a course of Tartar languages in Paris. Poetry was developed in the songs of the Troubadours, enthusiastic recorders of the wonderful exploits which they witnessed. The medical and mathematical sciences profited by the discoveries of the Arabs, and geography was enlarged by more accurate ideas concerning countries hitherto hardly known.

The church too profited largely by the immense influence which the crusades naturally gave to the Holy See, at whose instigation they began. The period was not yet passed when monasteries and religious corporations could render great services to literature and to the weak and oppressed. The number of these institutions was multiplied, and with them the benefits which they could still confer upon society

## CHAPTER XIII.

### GERMANY FROM THE THIRTEENTH TO THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

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#### SUMMARY.

§ I. State of Germany at the death of Frederic II.—Great interregnum.—William of Holland.—Conrad IV.—Alphonso of Castile, and Richard of Cornwall.—Rudolph of Hapsburg.—Beginning of the house of Austria.—Decay of the imperial power after the death of Rudolph.—Adolphus of Nassau.—Albert I. of Austria.—Insurrection of Helvetia.—Henry VII. of Luxemburg.—Expedition into Italy.—Frederic the Handsome of Austria.—Lewis of Bavaria.—Triumph of Lewis of Bavaria, who is excommunicated by the pope.—Revolt of Charles of Bohemia.—Corruption and weakness of the government.—Diminution of the domains of the empire.—Vincislaus: his deposition.—Robert III. of Bavaria.—Sigismund of Luxemburg.—John Huss.—Religious and political troubles.—Albert II. of Austria.—Frederic III.

§ II. Constitution of the empire in the thirteenth century.—The electors.—Associations of cities.—*Hanseatic league*: league of the Rhine, &c.—Pragmatic of Frankfort.—Golden bull.—Vain efforts of the emperor to establish the public peace.—Diet of Nuremberg.

§ III. Oppression of Helvetia.—*Conspiracy of Rutli*.—*William Tell*.—*Formation of the Helvetic league*.—*War against Albert I.*—*Battle of Morgarten*.—*Progress of the Swiss confederation*.—*Battle of Simbach*.—Self-devotion of *Winkelried*.—Truce of Zurich.



## § I.

HISTORY OF GERMANY FROM THE DEATH OF FREDERIC II. TO  
THE CORONATION OF FREDERIC III.

217. *State of Germany after Frederic II.*—*Great interregnum.*—After the death of Frederic II. (1250) began a period of dissolution. The long contest between the priesthood and the empire had broken all the harmony of the German states. The people who had been divided so many years by incessant quarrels, now separated from one another and resumed their independence. It was every where war. "The ploughshare," says an old historian, "was changed into swords; the sickle into lances. No one went without his tinder-box and flint, so as to be always ready to throw fire and flame every where." Germany seemed to have gone back to the times which had followed the dissolution of the Carolingian empire. The imperial power, impotent in the midst of such disorders, made useless efforts to establish peace and unity. This epoch is known, in German history, as the *great interregnum*.

While *William* of Holland, instigated by Innocent IV., during the last years of Frederic II. (1247) retained the crown without knowing how to make it respected, *Conrad IV.*, Frederic's son (1250–1254), was establishing himself with difficulty in Italy and vainly attempting to regain his hereditary states. After the death of these two princes, two strangers—*Alphonso*, of Castile, and *Richard* of Cornwall—contended by money for the suffrages of the diet, which rejected the pretensions of the ambitious Ottokar, king of Bohemia. It required a man of character firm enough to extricate the empire from the anarchy of the long interregnum; and yet of too little power to excite the jealousy of the electors.

Count Rudolph of Hapsburg united these conditions, and obtained the suffrages of the diet, without having solicited them (1273). The year following, he was solemnly recognized by the pope at the council of Lyons.

218. *Rudolph of Hapsburg*.—Rudolph surpassed the expectations of the great feudal lords, and displayed an activity and a genius which no one had supposed him to possess. Alphonso, who had survived his rival Richard, was compelled to recognize the new emperor. Ottokar, placed under the ban of the empire for having refused to do homage, lost Austria in a first war (1276); and was conquered and killed in a second, in spite of the succors of the kings of Poland and Bulgaria (1278). The conqueror left his son Vincislaus nothing but Bohemia and Moravia, causing the vacant fiefs of Austria to be given to two of his own sons (1282). Soon after, he united them in the hands of his eldest son Albert, whom he hoped to raise to the empire. Suabia and Burgundy were to form the appanage of the youngest. But the progress of the imperial power, and Rudolph's manifest intention of recovering the ancient domains of the crown, alarmed the vassals. A league was formed to oppose his projects, and he died soon after (1291)—after having vainly attempted to get possession of Hungary, and have his son elected king of the Romans.

219. *Adolphus of Nassau*.—*Albert of Austria*.—The electors, wearied by Rudolph's energetic severity, hastened to give the crown to the obscure *Adolphus* of Nassau (1292). But this prince attempted to extend his family domains, sword in hand, and ravaged half Germany. The indignant electors cried out *that they had still other kings under their mantles*. The diet of Mayence gave the crown to Rudolph's son, and he killed his rival in the very first battle (1298). *Albert I.* of Austria, to give a new sanction to his authority, had himself elected a second time, and crowned at Aix-la-

Chapelle. Pope *Boniface VIII.* alone refused to recognize him, and receiving Albert's deputies with a crown on his head and a sword at his side, assumed the title of vicar-general of the empire, and ordered the princes to proceed to a new election. But Albert, confident of the support of the electors and of the imperial cities of the lower Rhine, swore that he would keep his throne; and the pope, distracted by his disputes with Philip the Fair, king of France (v. ch. xv. § i.), withdrew his opposition.

The ambitious emperor wished to secure for his family the thrones of Hungary and Bohemia, after the death of Andrew III., and Vincislaus V., his successor (1306). Failing in this double aim, he attempted with like success to seize upon Holland, Suabia, and Thuringia (1307), but was at last compelled to abandon all these projects of conquest in order to meet a revolt which threatened him with the loss of his own domains. The cruelty of Gessler, intendant of the empire, had stirred up a revolt among the inhabitants of Helvetia (v. § iii.). Albert marched against them, accompanied by John of Suabia, his nephew and ward, whose inheritance he had invaded. This young prince, but fourteen years old, formed a conspiracy against his faithless guardian, and Albert was assassinated in crossing the Reuss, within sight of the castle of Hapsburg. The vengeance of this death was terrible. John, the parricide, proscribed in spite of the pope's absolution, died a captive, and more than a thousand victims were sacrificed to the fury of Albert's relations.

220. *Henry VII.—Contest between Frederic the Handsome and Lewis of Bavaria.*—The imperial sceptre slipped for a second time from the house of Hapsburg. *Henry VII.* of Luxemburg was elected, to the exclusion of Albert's son, Frederic the Handsome (1308). A few years afterwards, the states of Bohemia offered the crown to John, the new emperor's son. But Henry, more ambitious than Albert,

even, for the aggrandizement of his family, was anxious to enforce the disastrous pretensions upon Italy, which his predecessors had had the prudence to drop. He died beyond the Alps, without having been able to calm the endless quarrel of the Guelphs and Ghibellines (1313).

After his death, *Frederic the Handsome*, duke of Austria, succeeded in obtaining the votes of part of the electors: others preferred *Lewis* of Bavaria (1314). A war broke out between the rivals. Lewis had recognized the independence of the Swiss cantons, who declared in his favor. An army which Frederic sent against them, was destroyed at Morgarten (v. § iii.), and the duke of Austria himself, who had invaded Bavaria, was defeated and taken at the battle of Mühldorff (1322). But Pope John XXII. hurled against the conqueror a bull of excommunication, and cited him to appear before him within three months, at the expiration of which he declared his throne forfeit (1324). To disarm the pope, Lewis released his rival, and consented to share with him the imperial dignity.

Still after Frederic's death (1330), the pope set up Charles of France against him, and excommunicated him for having had himself crowned at Rome by the prefect Colonna. Lewis wished to abdicate, to restore peace; but the electors compelled him to maintain the contest to the end. To the anathemas of Benedict XII., the German diet replied by the pragmatic sanction of Frankfort (1338), which declared the election of king or emperor legitimate independently of the papal investiture. Lewis's reign was none the more tranquil. John of Bohemia, who had long been his enemy, succeeded in obtaining for his son Charles the support of Pope Clement VI., who hurled new anathemas against the emperor (1346); and Lewis died just as the electors had declared the imperial throne vacant (1347).

221. *Reign of Charles IV.—Weakness of the govern-*

ment.—A sport of all the exactions of the nobles and slave of the pope, *Charles IV.* of Bohemia (1347–1378) bought the suffrages of the diet by lavishing the dignities of the empire ; and obtained the second coronation at Rome by promising to remain but one day in the city, never to return there without the pope's permission, and to recognize the suzerainty of the Holy See (1355).

This reign was a sad period of debasement and humiliation for the empire. Corruption and intrigue, supplied the place of firmness and talent ; and the emperor filled his exhausted treasury by alienating for money the imperial fiefs and domains. The cession of the Venaissin county to the Holy See, was solemnly confirmed. Dauphiny was withdrawn from the suzerainty of the empire, and given to the son of the king of France. In Helvetia, several cities joined the new confederation (v. § iii.). Beyond the Alps, the emperor himself confirmed the independence of the pontifical territories and of several cities of Lombardy. In Germany, he published the famous *golden-bull* (v. § xi.), which gave the imperial confirmation to rights and privileges which the great vassals had already usurped (1256). The only thing in which he succeeded, was in enlarging the domains of his own family at the expense of the empire. He had already incorporated Bohemia, Silesia, Lusatia, and Brandenburg ; and obtained the title of king of the Romans for his son *Vincellaus*, when he died, in the year 1378.

222. *Vincellaus.—Robert III.—Period of decay.*—Never had an empire been more divided, or a power more debased, than that of Germany at the moment in which *Vincellaus* ascended the throne (1378–1400). The son of *Charles IV.* did not even attempt to restore the grandeur and energy of the imperial dignity. Confined to his kingdom of Bohemia, where alone he could wield an undisputed authority, he only appeared at the diet of Nuremberg to witness, like an indif-

ferent spectator, the dissensions between his haughty vassals, and the cities leagued in Suabia and on the Rhine for the defence of their liberty. He allowed the nobles to revive the old brotherhoods of St. George, and of the Lion against the commons, now rich and powerful; and contented himself with publishing a *public peace*, of which he knew not how to enforce the observance (1383). Neither was his indolence moved by the news of the great victory of the Swiss, at Sempach (1386). At last his Bohemian subjects rose, and cast him into prison; and the electors, setting him aside as useless, named *Robert III.* of Bavaria in his place (1400). This prince made an unfortunate expedition into Italy, and returned to close in Germany an inglorious reign (1410).

223. *Sigismund of Luxemburg.*—*Religious and political troubles.*—*Albert II. of Austria.*—*Sigismund* of Luxemburg, already king of Hungary—and heir to the throne of Bohemia still filled by his brother Vinceslaus, the deposed emperor—seemed capable of reviving the dignity of the empire; but religious dissensions and the attacks of the Turks, paralyzed all his efforts. John Huss, professor in the University of Prague, had preached against the corruptions of the clergy, and with his disciple, Jerome of Prague, revived the doctrines of Wicliff, which the church had condemned as heretical. He was condemned by the *council of Constance*, and perished at the stake in spite of the imperial safe conduct which Sigismund had not the courage—perhaps not the strength—to enforce (1415). The next year, Jerome met the same fate, after having lingered in a painful captivity. Huss was of a mild and gentle spirit; but the retaliations which his disciples took for his death, were so fearful that Vinceslaus is said to have died of terror at them (1419). Several sects, whom a common hatred for the Catholics united—the *Adamites*, *Orebites*, and *Orphans*—declared war against the emperor. The *Taborites*, the most enthusiastic, overran Austria, Bohemia,

and Bavaria; plundering the monasteries; torturing the priests; sacking the possessions of the Catholics, and proclaiming that the new kingdom of God would begin when all the cities of the earth should be burnt and reduced to fire. All Sigismund's efforts to resist them, were vain. At sight of them, an army of eighty thousand men fled in the utmost disorder; and it was only by confirming all the concessions that had been made them, that a momentary suspension of hostilities could be obtained.

With Sigismund, ended the house of Luxemburg (1437). A new epoch—an epoch of organization and regular administration—began with the house of Austria, which, with *Albert II.*, obtained uninterrupted possession of the imperial throne. Albert united Sigismund's three crowns, Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia. His talents and virtues promised a glorious and prosperous reign, which was cut short by early death only two years after his accession, and on his return from an expedition against the Turks (1439). *Frederic III.* (1440–1493) succeeded him, and received the crown from the hands of Nicholas V. He was the last emperor that asked for this sanction from the pontifical power.

## § II.

### CHANGES IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE EMPIRE DURING THIS PERIOD OF THE HISTORY OF GERMANY.

224. *Constitution of the empire in the thirteenth century.*—The changes introduced into the constitution of the Germanic empire during this period, were fatal blows to the imperial power and to the unity of Germany. *Frederic II.*, by renouncing the supreme jurisdiction of the emperors in the domains of the ecclesiastical princes (1220) and ten years

later of the secular (1230), had confirmed their absolute independence. The ruin and parcelling out of the ancient duchies of Suabia, Franconia, Saxony, and Bavaria, gave rise to a crowd of petty sovereignties, which divided the power of the state and exposed it to every sort of disorder. The most powerful countries, Denmark, Hungary, Poland, with a part of Burgundy and Lombardy, renounced the imperial suzerainty. Among those which remained attached to the empire, seven seized exclusively upon the right of election, which, till then, had belonged to a larger number of vassals, and formed the electoral college. The other princes and barons, reduced to a simple right of confirmation, sought a compensation by exercising on their own domains an uncontrolled despotism over the inferior nobility, who found in chivalry but a faint image of the old German liberty, and the commons of the cities, whose revenues fed the treasury of their lords.

225. *Associations of cities—Hanseatic league.—League of the Rhine.*—But a great number of these cities, proud of their numerous population and the wealth acquired by a flourishing commerce, rejected the onerous protection of the vassals, as well as the vain supremacy of the emperor. The commons, contending with princes, counts, and knights, jealous of their prosperity, transformed their industrial corporations into warlike associations. Each city had within its walls a crowd of valiant defenders ; and separate cities soon began to unite together, for the mutual protection of their liberty. In 1241, a commercial compact between Lubeck and Hamburg was the origin of that famous *Hanseatic league* (or *Hanse-Teutonic*), which in 1300 comprised sixty cities from the Lower Rhine to the Baltic ; and in the middle of the fourteenth century had factories at Novogorod, Stockholm, London, and Lisbon, and had become a redoubtable political power (v. Mod. Hist., ch. viii., § iii.). In 1254,



sixty cities in the south of Germany formed a league also against the oppression of the nobles, under the name of *League of the Rhine*. Soon the inferior nobility of Suabia, imitating the example of the commons, formed a confederation to escape from the despotism of the great vassals; and allied themselves, in the fourteenth century, with the cities of that province (1380).

226. *Increase of the power of the great vassals at the expense of the imperial power.—Golden bull.*—The imperial power, whose impotence was the cause of all these associations, had recovered some energy under Rudolph, who reclaimed the rights usurped by the vassals; and reduced them to obedience by destroying those castles, whose picturesque ruins still adorn the Black Forest and the mountains on the banks of the Rhine. But anarchy returned at his death. If the diet of Frankfort (1338) solemnly proclaimed the independence of the empire with regard to the Holy See (v. § 1.), Lewis of Bavaria gave a new blow to the unity of the imperial government, by ordering the judges to follow the laws of each province; and increasing their number himself, by publishing a special code for Upper Bavaria.

Under Charles IV., the *golden bull* (1356)—so called from the golden seal affixed to it—sanctioned all the rights and privileges which the great vassals had usurped. It confirms the exclusive right of election to seven princes, the archbishop of Mayence, Treves, and Cologne; the king of Bohemia; the count Palatine of the Rhine; the duke of Saxony, and the margrave of Brandenburg. Austria had no vote, but contented herself with taking the empire for her patrimony. The golden bull exempts the electoral domains from the imperial jurisdiction; gives the electors regalian rights over mines, the coins, and taxation; insures their pre-eminence over all the other princes, and makes it treason

to attempt any thing against their privileges. The electors are called the fundamental columns, the seven torches of the empire ; and the electoral dignity is raised almost to a level with the imperial.

227. *Efforts of the emperors to re-establish the public peace.*—The golden bull contained also some provisions concerning private wars, and the establishment of the public peace—the only articles which were not sincerely kept. It was in vain that the successors of Charles IV., Vinceslaus and Sigismund, raised their voices to forbid the bloody quarrels which desolated Germany, and proposed a regular organization of the states of the empire. The states, jealous of whatever bore the semblance of imperial supremacy, chose to depend upon their own strength to obtain justice, or defend their usurpations. The princes, too, without troubling themselves about the sanction of the emperor, established rules of general administration, without securing the execution of them by the guarantee of any superior power. A new period of anarchy was required to make these haughty vassals feel the need of order and general tranquillity. At last, the conciliating words of the wise emperor Albert II. were favorably received at the diet of Nuremberg, in which all the provisions of the golden bull for the *public peace* were renewed. The division of Germany into six circles under the presidency of a director, or captain general, and the re-establishment of the appeal to the tribunal of the emperor, were to secure the execution of the statutes of Nuremberg and fortify the supreme power (1438). But the new troubles of Germany under the feeble Frederic III., and his inability to resist the attempts of even the weakest vassals (Mod. Hist., ch. vii.), soon showed that the emperors were still to confine their pretensions to a ratification of the encroachments of the nobles. All Frederic's efforts resulted in making regulations for private wars.

## § III.

## FORMATION OF THE HELVETIC LEAGUE.

228. *Oppression of Helvetia.—Conspiracy of Rusli.—William Tell.*—While Germany was thus sinking with rapid decay, a great political revolution was accomplished in a corner of Europe. Helvetia broke away from the empire, and won her freedom and nationality by the heroism of a few mountaineers. Subjected, since Charlemagne, to the imperial supremacy, Helvetia was divided into a great number of immediate fiefs—four imperial cities, and three called *forest* cities Uri, Schwitz, and Unterwalden. Albert of Austria, always goaded by the ambition of aggrandizing his family, proposed to these cities to renounce their privileges and put themselves under the direct protection of Austria. All three refused: and the irritated prince charged the intendants of the lands which he held in their neighborhood, to enforce their rights with the greatest rigor, to embarrass the commerce of the cities, and tyrannize to the utmost over the inhabitants of the country.

The proud mountaineers did not submit long to this odious oppression. Three men, devoted to liberty—*Werner Stauffacher*, of Schwitz; *Walter Furst*, of Uri; and *Arnold of Melchtal*, whose father, an inhabitant of Uri, had just been blinded by the Austrian intendant—united for the independence of their country. They held their meetings by night on the rocks of Uri, and excited their friends to join with them in this bold enterprise; and thirty-three pledged themselves, in the name of the God who heard them, to defend with their latest breath the holy cause of freedom. Such was the origin of the Swiss confederacy.

One of the conspirators, *William Tell*, of the canton of

Uri, gave the signal of revolt. It is said that Gessler, intendant of the empire, had set up his hat in the square of Altorff, and commanded every body to do homage to this emblem of his power. Tell, who refused to comply, was condemned to be put to death, unless he could strike off with an arrow an apple from the head of his son. He did it: but the intendant resolved to crush this bold spirit; had him chained, and taking him in his boat, attempted to conduct him himself to the fortress, where he meant to confine him. A violent tempest arose, and the affrighted boatmen were unable to hold their way among the rocks. Tell was unchained, and intrusted with the helm. He steered for the shore, and, leaping upon it, pushed the boat back among the waves. The boatmen, left to themselves, struggled manfully for their lives, and succeeded at last in reaching the shore. Tell watched them from the bank, and shot the tyrant as he landed.

229. *Contest between the Swiss and Albert I.—Formation of the Helvetic league.*—Already by June, 1308, several castles had fallen into the hands of the insurgents, whose number had rapidly increased. Albert marched against them, but was assassinated at the passage of the Reuss (v. § i.). His son, Frederic the Handsome, was an equally implacable enemy of the Swiss; and after having avenged his father's death by two bloody battles, he sent his brother Leopold to wage against them a war of extermination. Leopold appeared among the mountains with a band of illustrious knights, and cords to bind the chiefs of those vile peasants, whom he threatened to crush under his feet. The fearless confederates called first on Heaven for protection, and then, by the advice of an old man, took their stand in the defile of *Morgarten*. Thirteen hundred men, with nothing but halberts for arms, awaited the approach of Leopold's numerous army and mail-clad knights. An hour and a half decided the fate of Swiss freedom. Showers of stones,

hurled down from the heights, crushed the Austrians as they vainly endeavored to force their way through the pass; and the knights, struck down from their horses, were killed by the blows of the halbert. The victors swore a perpetual league, which was soon approved by Lewis of Bavaria; and the whole country took the name of the canton in which the victory had been won—(*Schwitz—Switzerland*) (1315).

230. *Progress of the confederation.—Battle of Sempach.—Truce of Zurich.*—Thenceforth, the confederation grew rapidly. From 1332 to 1353, it was successively joined by the cantons of Lucerne, Zurich, Glaris, Zug, and Berne. A new war with Austria, insured its independence. The Austrians had established on the principal road to Lucerne, a toll, to which the young men of the city refused to submit. Leopold, duke of Austria, seized upon this pretext to invade Argovia. His army of four thousand knights and a strong body of footmen, met fourteen hundred soldiers of the confederation, near *Sempach*. The intrepid charge of the Helvetians was vain against the iron battalions of the enemy. Many had already fallen, when *Arnold of Winkelried* sprang forward, crying—"Friends, I intrust my wife and children to you;" and then seizing the points of several lances with both his hands, dragged down the soldiers in his fall. The Swiss broke fiercely into the breach, and breaking helmet and cuirass with their heavy swords, put the Austrians to flight (1386). The battle of Nafels, won by the inhabitants of Glaris, soon followed; and these two great victories prepared the way for the truce of Zurich (1389), by which Albert III. of Austria recognized the rights of the Helvetic confederacy.

A few years afterwards (1411), the eight cantons were joined by the city of Appenzel; and in the following century, their number rose to thirteen (v. *Mod. Hist.*).

## CHAPTER XIV.

### ITALY FROM THE THIRTEENTH TO THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

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#### SUMMARY.

§ I. Decline of the political power of the popes.—Contests of the Guelphs and Ghibellines.—Corradino and Manfred.—Charles of Anjou, in Italy.—Death of Manfred and Corradino.—Ambitious projects of Charles of Anjou.—*Sicilian vespers*.—Separation of Sicily and Naples.—Rivalry between the houses of Anjou and Aragon.

§ II. Maritime power of Venice.—Influence of the fall of the Latin empire upon the destinies of Venice.—Political revolution.—Abolition of the democracy.—The Great Council.—*Closing of the Great Council*.—*Council of Ten*.—Rivalry of Pisa and Genoa.—Decline of Pisa.—Triumph of her rival.

§ III. Relations between Clement V. and Philip the Fair.—Removal of the Holy See to Avignon.—John XXII.—Clement VI.—Cola di Rienzi tribune at Rome.—His power and his fall.—Return of the popes to Rome, after a residence of seventy years at Avignon.

§ IV. Double election of Urban VI. and Clement III.—Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII.—Council of Pisa.—Alexander VI.—*Council of Constance*.—John XXIII.—Condemnation of John Huss.—Deposition of three popes.—Martin V.—Vain attempts at reform.—Council of Basle.—Temporary reunion of the Greek church.

§ V. Sovereign houses of Italy.—Family of the Visconti at Milan.—Contest of the Lombard cities against Milan.—Bernabo Visconti.—John Galeazzo.—The Condottieri.—Francis Sforza.—State of Lombardy.—House of Savoy.

§ VI. State of Tuscany.—The contest between the Guelphs and Ghibellines continues.—Exploits of Castruccio.—Rivalry between the Neri and Bianchi, at Florence.—Plague at Florence.—Beginning of the house of Medici.—Silvestro.—John, Father of the people.—Cosimo, Father of his country.

§ VII. Respective positions of Venice and Genoa.—Rupture between the two republics.—*Conspiracy of Marino Faliero*.—Success of Genoa.—War of Chiozza.—Venice saved by Pisani.—Success of the Venetians.—Their progress on the continent.—War against Milan.—Revolution at Genoa.

§ VIII. Contest between Frederic of Aragon, and Robert of Anjou.—Crimes and irregularities of Jane I.—Jane II.—Rivalry of Alphonso of Aragon, and René of Anjou.—Reunion of the two Sicilies.—Wise government of Alphonso.—Treaty of Lodi.—Pacification of Lodi.

## § I.

### HISTORY OF THE STATES OF ITALY AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH GERMANY AFTER THE DEATH OF FREDERIC II.

231. *Final contest of the Guelphs and Ghibellines.*—*Corradino*.—*Manfred*.—During the period of anarchy which desolated Germany (v. preceding ch.), Italy succeeded in throwing off the foreign influence to which she had long been subjected; but was unable to form any principle of unity for her divided strength, or organize an energetic government. While the Imperial power was declining so rapidly beyond the Alps, the temporal power of the popes—the only centre of action for Italy since Gregory VII.—sunk with equal rapidity, and with it the political importance of the peninsula. Several states will still run a bright career; but their fatal rivalries undermine the basis of their greatness, and prepare that long period of subjection which has not yet ended.

The last contests of the Guelph or national party, against

the house of Hohenstaufen and the Ghibellines, fill the close of the thirteenth century. Frederic II. had left his natural son Manfred guardian of his two legitimate children, Conrad and Henry (1250). Conrad, murderer of his brother Henry, was supposed to have fallen a victim himself to the ambition of Manfred. However this may have been, Manfred was chosen king on the report of the death of Conradino, Conrad's son (1258), and crowned at Palermo. The pope refused to grant him the investiture, and roused the Guelphs against him. The Ghibellines met a severe loss in Lombardy, where Eccellino their chief, who had made himself odious by his cruelty and tyranny, was defeated and taken prisoner at Cassano. At the same time, the pope armed Florence, Lucca, and all the Guelph cities of Tuscany, against Pisa, Siena, and Arezzo, which supported the opposite party, and gave to Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Lewis, the investiture of the two Sicilies, to set him up against Manfred (1265). The new king promised, like Robert Guiscard, to hold the kingdom as a fief of the Holy See, pay a tribute of eight thousand ounces of gold, and send every year to the pontiff a white palfrey in sign of vassalage.

Charles of Anjou, with the banner of the church at the head of his brilliant army, met Manfred near Beneventum. The Italian prince was surrounded by a guard of Saracens. In the heat of the conflict the silver eagle of his crest fell or was struck off: "*It is the sign of God,*" he exclaimed; and rushing among the enemy, fell, covered with wounds (1266).

232. *Charles of Anjou king of the two Sicilies.*—Every thing gave way to the conqueror: but the Italians soon grew tired of the cold and imperious Charles, and called Conradino, Conrad's son, from Germany. The Ghibellines of Tuscany declared in favor of the young prince, who advanced with a numerous army to the walls of Viterbo, to frighten Clement



IV., the ally of Charles of Anjou. "*They are victims going to the sacrifice*," said the pope; and shortly after his words were verified at the battle of *Tagliacozzo* (1268). The unfortunate Corradino was condemned to death, and executed in the public square with his cousin Frederic of Austria, in presence of his cold-blooded conqueror. Charles of Anjou, who had secured the triumph of the Guelphs, now attempted to extend his own power over Italy: but all the Lombard cities which had joined him against the Ghibellines, resisted him manfully the moment that he began to threaten their independence. Repulsed in northern Italy, he drew away St. Lewis to the crusade against Tunis, and had hardly quit Africa, from whence he was driven by famine and disease, when he began to prepare an expedition against the empire of the East, and had already taken Corfu and Durazzo, when all his hopes were annihilated by an unforeseen event.

233. *Sicilian Vespers*.—*Separation of Sicily and Naples*.—*Giovanni da Procida*, a Sicilian noble who had suffered deeply from the tyranny of Charles, took refuge at the court of Peter of Aragon, Manfred's son-in-law, and planned there the great conspiracy of the *Sicilian Vespers*, which cost the life of every Frenchman in the island. On Easter Monday, 30th March, 1282, at the moment in which the bells began to ring for vespers, the Sicilians rose up against the French, began a general massacre, and in two hours eight thousand persons had been put to death. So great was the rage of the conspirators, that they killed even the Sicilian women who had married Frenchmen. Only one man was spared in this general slaughter, William Porcelet, who had won so good a name by his virtues, that men did not forget it even in that fearful moment. At the news of this catastrophe the pope excommunicated the Sicilians and Peter of Aragon, whom they had chosen king (1282). Charles sent a powerful army to punish the revolt, but all his efforts fail-

ed ; his fleet was destroyed by Roger de Loria and his son taken prisoner. All Sicily recognized Peter, who reigned till 1285. Charles died the same year, after three years of unavailing efforts to reconquer his kingdom. The war continued under James I. of Aragon and Charles II. of Valois, sons of the two rivals, with many vicissitudes ; but the Aragonese preserved the dominion over Sicily, and it was not till long afterwards that it was again reunited to Naples.

## § II.

### PROGRESS OF THE MARITIME POWERS.

234. *Maritime power of Venice.—Causes of her decay.*—The independent cities of the north of Italy, leaving the southern provinces to struggle as best they might with their foreign rulers, directed all their efforts to the strengthening of their power at home, and the enlargement of it abroad. The power of Venice, confined to the sea, had received an extraordinary development during the crusades. The Venetians, carrying their mercantile spirit to their religious enterprises, had secured an immense profit in their speculations upon the enthusiasm of the crusaders. Venice lent them her ships in exchange for their treasures, and hastened to establish a factory wherever they made a conquest. The fourth crusade confirmed the influence of the Venetians in the East, where the Greeks had already granted them free commerce in all their ports. The fall of the Greek empire threw all the coasts into the hands of the Venetians, and gave them the empire of the Mediterranean. The republic excited the ambition and cupidity of all her citizens, by offering the sovereignty of the islands and ports of the Egean, to any one that should make the conquest and acknowledge the sovereignty of Venice. Immediately a crowd of mer-

chants and nobles engaged in expeditions, most of which were successful, and extended the dominion of the republic, which soon reached the highest point of its greatness. But the repeated attacks of the Hungarians and Illyrians, and above all the rivalry of Genoa, soon began to shake the power of the queen of the Adriatic.

She had already lost her preponderance at Constantinople by the ruin of the Latin empire (v. ch. x.), and the Turks, masters of Tyre and Ptolemais, had closed the ports of Syria against her, when her quarrel with Genoa broke out in all its violence. Venice made incredible efforts to preserve the navigation of the Black Sea, sometimes arming large fleets, sometimes sending out swarms of pirates to destroy the commerce of the Genoese; but after a long war, inaugurated by the victory of Trapani (1261), two great naval defeats (battle of Curzola, 1293—of Gallipoli, 1294) compelled her to accept a humiliating peace, which closed to her the ports of the Black Sea and the sea of Syria. From this epoch dates the decay of the maritime power of Venice.

235. *Aristocratic revolution at Venice.*—*Closing of the great council.*—*Council of ten.*—The Venetian government was at the same time shaken by a great political revolution. In a city of which the population had so often been renewed by foreign immigrations, the democratic element had naturally been predominant in the beginning. Nearly all the inhabitants of Venice took a part in the nomination of the doge and other magistrates; but the confusion and trouble which attended the elections afforded a pretext for change, under the name of reform, and in 1172, the right of election was transferred from the body of citizens to a *great council*, composed of four hundred and fifty members, chosen by twelve electors from the different quarters of the city. While the aristocratic principle thus began its attacks upon democracy, the monarchic element received a severe blow by the

formation of a council of five members, the *correctors of the oath of the doge*. Finally, in 1268, a *great chancellor* was created, who was to be chosen from among the commons—another way of increasing the power of the nobles; for by granting a privilege to the people, you suppose that there can be privileges, and that the nobility are already in possession of their own; by securing to them the possession of the second place, you pronounce their exclusion from the first.

It was in vain that the people protested, and strove, at the death of John Dandolo (1289), to regain the right of election. The nobility made haste to render all reaction impossible. Gradenigo, the doge, carried a decree by which the electors, instead of being chosen freely by the people, were to be chosen from the great council by its own members. In a few years the most influential families had invaded the whole council (1309). Nothing was now wanting but to give a legal confirmation to their exclusive dominion. A decree decided that thenceforth the council would be composed of none but the senatorial families which then exercised the right. This decree was called the *closing of the great council*. In 1319 the dignity of counsellor was declared hereditary. And thus the aristocracy became a reigning caste, and the state was concentrated in a class, of which the other citizens were no longer any thing more than the subjects.

This victory was not won without difficulty, and several conspiracies broke out among the nobles themselves, a large portion of whom were disinherited of their share in the government. But the only result was the establishment of a tribunal, terrible by the number of its emissaries, the secrecy of its operations, and the arbitrariness and rigor of its sentences, the celebrated *council of ten*, and within it the *inquisitors of state*, more especially charged with the examination of the affairs and the execution of the decrees of the council.

This redoubtable tribunal, temporary at first, but soon declared permanent (1335), stifled for ever in Venice the spirit of insubordination and revolt, and with them the spirit of liberty. Peace reigned in the republic, but it was the calm of oppression and the silence of terror.

236. *Rivalry of Pisa and Genoa.—Decay of Pisa.—Greatness of Genoa.*—Pisa and Genoa had followed the example of Venice in their external policy, and more occupied with foreign affairs than with the quarrels of Italy, had created an important maritime power. But neighbors and rivals in ambition, they soon engaged in a desperate struggle which could only end in the ruin of one or the other. Under the dynasty of the Hohenstaufen the Pisans were supported by the imperialists; but the decay of the Ghibellines, after the death of Frederic II., was a fatal blow to them. Sardinia was torn from them by the pope; and the possession of Corsica became the cause of a fatal war with Genoa. In 1284, the terrible battle of Meloria, in which they lost thirty-five galleys, five thousand killed, and eleven thousand prisoners, destroyed their marine. The captives were carried to Genoa; and it became a saying in Italy—*Go to Genoa if you wish to see Pisa*. This unfortunate city, a target for the attacks of all the Guelphs of Tuscany, was reduced to the necessity of submitting to the tyranny of Count *Ugolino della Gherardesca*. But the yoke soon became insupportable, and the people rising against him, made themselves masters of his person, after a desperate resistance, and threw him into the tower of the *settè vie*, where he and his children perished by hunger. A new war with the Genoese terminated in a treaty, which compelled, it is said, the Pisans to block up their port (1290).

This was a period of grandeur for Genoa. In spite of the numerous changes in the uncertain form of her government, which gave the dominion for a few years to Charles

of Anjou ; in spite of the part she took in the quarrels of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, and her desperate contests with Venice (1261–1299) ; Genoa had been one of the great means of restoring Constantinople to the Greeks : in the maritime provinces of the empire she had substituted her dominion to that of Venice : she had seized upon the navigation of the Black Sea ; had subdued Pisa, her constant rival ; had secured her preponderance in the Mediterranean, and established one in the East which lasted till the fall of the empire.

### § III.

#### TRANSLATION OF THE HOLY SEE TO AVIGNON.

237. *Relations between Clement V. and Philip the Fair.—Translation of the Holy See to Avignon.*—The decline of the political influence of the Holy See in Italy, a fact of immense importance—the leading one in the history of the peninsula in the thirteenth century, and which changed its destinies for all following ages—was decided for ever, when the pope, abandoning the pontifical city and his independent domains, went to seek an asylum in the states of a foreign prince.

The quarrel between Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII., which ended only with the death of the pope, exposed even in Italy to the outrages of the emissaries of his enemy, seemed to manifest an intention on the part of the king to extend his supremacy over the sovereign pontificate. The translation of the Holy See to Avignon was the result and the complement of this policy. No sooner had Boniface's successor, Benedict XI. (1303–1304), who had consented to absolve Philip from the sentence of excommunication, left the papal throne vacant by his death, than the king hastened to

attach to his party Bertrand of Got, archbishop of Bordeaux, who had been proposed as a candidate in the conclave. The Frenchman was elected, thanks to Philip's intrigues, and took the name of Clement V. (1305-1314). The king assured him of his protection as the price of several conditions, one of which, it was said, was to be accepted without being known. One of the conditions was, that the Holy See should be transferred to France. Clement, who preferred his own country to Rome, torn by factions and agitated by the spirit of democracy and revolt, complied readily with the king's desire, and established himself in the county of Venaissin, within the territories of the counts of Provence, from whom his successors bought Avignon. Thus began what the Italians call *the new captivity of Babylon*, which lasted nearly seventy years (1309-1376). Yet there were several conditions to which Clement would not consent. He would not brand the memory of his predecessor, for fear of degrading the pontificate, although urgently pressed to it by the king. And he was supported in it by the decree of the general council of Vienne, which declared the pope guiltless of heresy (1311). But Philip obtained a compensation in the bull of 1307, which abolished the order of Templars in all the states of Europe. And this, say some historians, was the condition which the king had not been willing to tell beforehand.

238. *Troubles in Italy.—Rienzi tribune at Rome.*—One of the fruits of the residence of the popes at Avignon was the quarrel of Lewis of Bavaria with the Holy See. John XXII. (1316-1333) began this new contest with the empire. He refused to recognize Lewis, and claimed for himself the right of naming an imperial vicar during the vacancy of the empire. Benedict XII. and Clement VI., to serve the policy of France, and often against their own wills, pursued the emperor with their anathemas. Benedict XII. (1334-1342),

ashamed of his vassalage, wished to escape from it by returning to Italy; but the revival of the quarrels of the Guelphs and Ghibellines brought him back to France.

Under Clement VI. (1342-1352), Benedict's successor, the return was still more difficult. A new tribune, *Nicholas Rienzi* (Cola Gabrino), was on the point of taking Rome from the popes (1347). This man of low birth had inflamed his ardent imagination by the history of the old republic. He possessed a lively eloquence, and when he assembled the people around the monuments of their ancient grandeur, and spoke to them of the glory of their fathers, he kindled an enthusiasm to which they had long been strangers. Inflamed by his discourses, they invested him with the supreme power and established him in the capitol. He called himself *Rienzi, severe and clement, tribune of justice, peace, and liberty, the illustrious liberator of his country*; and, intoxicated with his triumph, formed the project of a universal republic, of which Rome was to be the centre. He summoned Clement VI., Lewis of Bavaria, and Charles of Bohemia, to come and defend their claims before his tribunal. But the people soon grew tired of their new master. He was driven from Rome, and re-established after an exile of seven years, by the protection of Innocent VI. But he again made himself obnoxious by his misgovernment, was besieged in the capitol, and killed in a popular tumult (1354).

239. *Return of the pope to Rome.*—An envoy of the pope, Cardinal *Albornoz*, who had been a soldier in his youth and knighted by Alphonso XI., undertook the perilous task of re-establishing order and submission, after so many troubles and revolts. By address, firmness, and perseverance, this skilful politician succeeded in bringing back Rome to the authority of the sovereign pontiff, and prepared the way for a return which had become more necessary than ever.

The frightful disorder which reigned in France had made



the residence of Avignon odious to the popes. During the pontificate of Innocent V. (1352-1362), a band of adventurers spread over the territory of the city, and only ceased their robberies to go and wage war in Italy under the banner of the marquis of Montferrat. Under Urban V. (1362-1370), new French bands, commanded by Bertrand of Guesclin, spread through the county, and raised a tax of 200,000 florins on the pontifical treasury. These multiplied injuries, the entreaties of the Italians, the submission of Rome, and the promises of the emperor, decided Urban V. to quit the French territory; to which, however, he returned again before he died. But his successor, Gregory XI. (1370), restored the seat of the pontificate definitively to Italy. He made his entry into Rome (1376) with triumphal pomp, amid the acclamations of the people, and chose for his residence the Vatican, the name of which from that time became indissolubly connected with the papal throne (1377).

#### § IV.

#### GREAT SCHISM OF THE WEST.—COUNCILS OF CONSTANCE AND BASLE.

240. *Double election of Urban VI. and Clement VII.—Beginning of the schism of the West.*—It was with no good will that France had renounced the privilege of holding the papal throne within her territories, and her resentment gave rise to the great schism of the West, which lasted half a century. The election which followed the death of Gregory was the pretext of this schism. Armed men had threatened the cardinals with death, unless they elected a Roman pope. They yielded, and chose an Italian, Urban VI. But soon after, several of them, disgusted with the severity with which

the new pontiff repressed their corruptions, protested against the election, and chose a Frenchman, Clement VII., who established himself at Avignon. The whole church was divided by this schism. Some states took the side of one pope, others of the other ; and this fatal contest continued under their successors. After the double election of Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII., the council of Pisa made a vain effort to end the quarrel by inducing them both to abdicate, and thought that it could overcome their resistance by giving the tiara to the virtuous Alexander V., who, once a beggar of his bread in Candia, had raised himself by his merit to the archbishopric of Milan (1409). But this only increased the confusion : instead of two popes there were now three ; and to put an end to the scandal, Alexander's successor, John XXIII. (1410-1415), resolved to convoke a general council at *Constance*.

241. *Council of Constance*.—A crowd of lay and ecclesiastical princes, the electors of the empire, the plenipotentiaries of all the courts of Christendom, the emperor Sigismund himself, Pope John XXIII., and the legates of Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII., and, says an eyewitness, several pagan lords, wonderfully dressed, with a great many Greeks and Mussulmen, met at Constance (1414). A hundred and fifty thousand Christians were assembled in the city and its environs, and all Europe awaited with anxiety the decrees of a council which was to put an end to the schism which divided the church, and condemn the heresy of *John Huss*. This heresy, as it was called by the council, was the same doctrine which in the next century was to strip the Catholic church of so large a portion of its heritage—attacking monastic vows, the supremacy of the pope, and the worship of saints. Huss consummated his revolt by publicly burning, as Luther did after him, the pontifical bulls, and came boldly to the council to defend his doctrines, which his partisans were

actively spreading in Bohemia. Condemned by the church, he refused to retract, and in spite of the safe-conduct of the emperor, was burned at the stake (1415).

242. *Martin V.—Attempts at reform.—Council of Basle.*—*End of the schism.*—Still the great object of the council, the extinction of the schism, was not yet accomplished. John XXIII., to escape the decision of the council, had fled in the disguise of a postillion, and taken refuge at Schaffhausen: but still he was deposed. Gregory XII. abdicated voluntarily. Benedict XIII. resisted the entreaties of the council and the emperor. He was deposed in spite of his opposition, and an Italian, Martin V., raised to the pontifical throne (1417). Peace seemed to have been at last established in the church; but this long schism had introduced serious evils which called for an immediate reform. But the new pope, fearing to engage in this perilous, though necessary task, dissolved the assembly without heeding the remonstrances of the prelates, who would gladly have averted the danger which menaced them from so near.

The condemnation of John Huss was soon followed by that of his disciple, Jerome of Prague (1416). But their doctrines spread, and the success of the Taborites soon made it necessary to convoke a second council. It met at Basle, condemned the Hussites anew, called attention to several great abuses, and began to work earnestly at the difficult task of the reunion of the Greek church. But the pope was again frightened by the cry for reform. Eugene IV. (1431–1447) adjourned the council, several of whose members, irritated by these hesitations, proclaimed Amedeus VIII., duke of Savoy (1439), who took the name of Felix V. But the greater part of the bishops soon met again at Ferrara, and then at Florence, where Eugene IV. enjoyed the transient glory of proclaiming the reunion of the Greek and Roman churches in a solemn act, which recognized the pope

as head of the church, and gave the second place to the patriarch of Constantinople. The abdication of Felix V. soon followed, and Nicholas V., sole pope, confirmed by his prudence the general pacification (1449). From that time the popes lived tranquilly at Rome.

### § V.

#### SOVEREIGN FAMILIES OF ITALY.

243. *Independent powers in the north of Italy.*—While Europe was agitated by these religious troubles, Italy served as the theatre for the last quarrels of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, which were kept alive by the rivalries of the little independent powers which divided the peninsula. The northern provinces had hardly thrown off the imperial yoke when the nobles seized the power and established themselves as sovereigns in the principal cities. The most powerful were the Della Scala, who replaced the Eccellini in Verona; the counts of Savoy, the princes of Este at Modena and Ferrara, the Gonzaga at Mantua, and Visconti at Milan.

244. *The Visconti at Milan.*—*State of Lombardy and Savoy.*—The family of the *Visconti* triumphed towards 1276, over the rival family of *Torriani*, and took possession of the supreme authority, which became hereditary among them after the emperor Henry VII. had conferred upon one of them the title of imperial vicar of Lombardy. Milan, under the government of the *Visconti*, held the supremacy in upper Italy, as it had done during the league of Lombardy. Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Piacenza, and Pisa herself, recognized the authority of the dukes of Milan (1315). But the power of the *Visconti* excited a reaction, which involved them in serious difficulties. A league formed by Venice with the cities

of Padua, Verona, Ferrara, and Mantua, was overcome by the two brothers Bernabos and Galeazzo. Bernabos avenged himself by frightful cruelties, maintained his authority in Milan, and tried to deprive his nephew, John Galeazzo, of his share of power. But the wily young prince, deceiving his uncle, seized upon his person, threw him into prison, and governed alone. *John Galeazzo* (1385–1432), as skilful as he was ambitious, extended his power rapidly over all Lombardy: Padua opened her gates to him; the duke of Savoy, the lords of Gonzaga, Este, and Montferrat recognized his supremacy; Bologna submitted to his laws, and the feeble emperor Vincislaus gladly sold him the ducal dignity for a hundred thousand crowns.

John Galeazzo had taken into pay the bands of *condottieri*, a kind of Italian soldiery, similar to the great companies in France, who sold their services to the best paymaster. But the insubordination of these adventurers frequently rendered them more redoubtable to their allies than to their enemies. The firm and powerful Galeazzo kept them within bounds, but they took ample amends on his young successors. Their influence soon became supreme in Milan, and at the death of *Philip Maria Visconti*, Galeazzo's second son (1447), one of their leaders, *Francesco Sforza*, aided by the Venetians, seized the supreme authority, in spite of the efforts of the Milanese to re-establish the democracy. His family preserved the crown for fifty years.

The republican government had disappeared throughout the rest of Lombardy, and the names of Guelph and Ghibelline, though occasionally heard, had lost their political meaning, and served only as a cover to private enmities. In the east of Lombardy, amid a crowd of obscure principalities, the only house which was to preserve some celebrity and importance, was the house of Savoy. At the end of the fourteenth century it was represented by Amedeus VIII., who early in

the century following was raised to the ducal dignity by the emperor Sigismund (1419).

## § VI.

## REPUBLICS OF TUSCANY.

245. *Continuation of the contest of Guelphs and Ghibellines.—The Neri and the Bianchi.—Plague of Florence.*—The Guelph and Ghibelline parties lasted longer in Tuscany, which they continued to divide into two camps. In the middle of the thirteenth century the Ghibellines ruled at Pisa, Siena, Pistoja, and Volterra ; and succeeded even in making themselves masters of Florence, which, with Lucca, was at the head of the Guelphs. But Florence, subjected for a moment by the family of the Uberti to an aristocratical government, revolted against the Ghibellines, re-established the democracy, and exiling the Uberti, confided the authority to two *anziani* (ancients). This revolution secured the triumph of the Guelphs till the battle of the *Arbia* or *Monte Aperto*, where they were defeated with great loss by the exiles, by the aid of the Siennese and Manfred. Nothing but the patriotism of *Farinata degli Uberti* saved Florence herself from destruction.

In the intoxication of victory, the Siennese built the tower of St. George of the thirty-eight windows, in honor of the thirty-eight companies that had taken part in the combat (1260).

Still this event did not end the quarrel. Florence gradually regained her strength, and avenged herself by the sack of Pistoja (1306). Pisa, though fallen from her ancient lustre, remained at the head of the Ghibellines, who were vigorously supported by an exile from Lucca, *Castruccio*

*Castracani*, a bold captain and skilful politician. *Castruccio* became the terror of all Tuscany, all-powerful at home, and supported by the alliance of *Galeazzo Visconti*, who had sought his friendship. Florence made an effort to defend her old superiority, but was defeated in a decisive battle (1325). Thus unsuccessful abroad, she was lacerated at home by the factions of the *Neri* and *Bianchi*, and reduced to intrust the supreme power to a foreigner, *Walter*, duke of Athens, an avaricious, cruel, and proud man, who sought rather to be feared than loved, and imposed on the Florentines a galling yoke. To all these disasters was added the famous plague, which the eloquence of *Boccaccio* has rendered so celebrated. A hundred thousand persons were swept off by this scourge, and among them the historian *Villani* (1348).

246. *Rise of the house of Medici* : *Silvestro*, *John*, *Cosimo*.—Towards the end of the fourteenth century the family of the *Medici* began to take an active part in public affairs. In 1378 *Silvestro dei Medici*, the first illustrious personage of his race, employed all his influence to secure the triumph of the democratic party against an oligarchy of the commons, which had seized the power after the fall of the duke of Athens. With this revolution began the most brilliant period of Florentine history. Pisa, her ancient rival, which had fallen under the yoke of foreigners, was sold to her by the duke of Milan, and compelled, in spite of a desperate resistance, to submit to her sway. After the death of *Silvestro*, *John de' Medici*, a banker, won by his liberality the name of *father of the poor*. He bequeathed a large fortune to his children, but died still richer in public love than in lands or gold. "Seek nothing beyond what the laws or men's free will gives you," was his dying counsel to his children, "and thus you will avoid envy and the ills which follow in its train." Such were the principles which governed the con-

duct of his eldest son *Cosimo* (1430–1464). Banished for a moment by the oligarchy, Cosimo was recalled by the whole people (1434), and remained to his death at the head of the republic, which enjoyed, under his administration, a peace and prosperity which it had never known before. Tranquil at home, respected abroad, and surrounded by all the splendor of arts and letters, she forgot, in the security inspired by the virtues and moderation of Cosimo, to guard against the danger to which she might be exposed by his successors. Cosimo was honored with the title of *father of his country*.

## § VII.

### RIVALRY OF VENICE AND GENOA.

247. *Respective positions of Venice and Genoa.—Conspiracy of Marino Faliero.*—Taking but little part in the internal dissensions of Italy, Venice and Genoa engaged actively in the general affairs of Europe, to increase their power by skilfully profiting by foreign wars, and above all by means of great commercial enterprises. The East, with its wealth, excited the ambition of the two republics, who could not meet often on this ground without being brought into collision by the opposition of interests. The revolution which wrested Constantinople from the Latins had established the power of Genoa in the Black sea. But Venice still ruled in the Archipelago. The taking of Treviso had extended her power on the coasts of the Adriatic (1339), and a treaty with the sultan of Egypt opened new markets for her commerce (1342). The Genoese, who had humbled their rivals in 1299 (v. ch. xi.), attempted to cut them off from the navigation of the sea of Azof, and Venice, to protect the liberty of her commerce, was obliged to resolve upon war.



The success was still nearly balanced between the two republics, when Venice was exposed to great danger by the conspiracy of *Marino Faliero*. The doge, an old man of eighty, had been deeply outraged by a young noble, and the only punishment which the council of ten inflicted was a few days' imprisonment. Faliero dissembled his rage, and uniting with the leader of the democratic party, formed a conspiracy, the object of which was the death of the patricians and the annihilation of the aristocracy. Six hundred conspirators were to assemble on the square of St. Mark on the 15th of April, 1355, at the signal of the tocsin, which the doge was to have sounded, and massacre the nobles as they came, one by one, to gather around the head of the republic. But the day before the plot was to break out, it was revealed to a member of the council of ten. The conspirators were given up to punishment, and the doge beheaded on the great staircase of the ducal palace, on the very spot where he had received the crown.

248. *Wars between the Genoese and Venetians.*—Venice, enfeebled by this terrible execution, was forced to conclude a disadvantageous peace with Genoa. Two years after, the king of Hungary, profiting by her humiliation, stripped her of the greater part of Dalmatia, and soon a new war with Genoa brought her to the brink of ruin. The conquest of Cyprus by the Genoese was the cause of this rupture. Venice took the part of King Lusignan, and at first was victorious; but the Genoese regained the advantage, defeated their enemies at Pola (1379), and suddenly appeared before Venice, after having seized on Chiozza, twenty-five miles south of the city. Peter Doria, who with Francis Carrara commanded the Genoese, boasted that he was going to replunge Venice into her lagoons, and replied haughtily to the entreaties of the senate and doge, that he would listen to no proposals till he had put a bridle on the bronze horses of St. Mark. The Ve-

netian signoria was prepared to remove to Candia at the first new reverse. But *Victor Pisani*, who had been unjustly thrown into prison for the loss of a battle which he had fought by express order, and against his own judgment, was drawn from his dungeon to be placed in this emergency at the head of the fleet, and joining with Zeno, who brought back a portion of the fleet from the East, blockaded the Genoese at Chiozza, and in spite of a vigorous defence and the heroic efforts of the republic and her allies to deliver them, compelled them to surrender at discretion. Shortly after, both parties, greatly weakened by their losses, were glad to sign a peace which left things very nearly where they were at the beginning of the war (1381).

Soon, however, Venice revived her power on the continent by favor of the dissensions which agitated her rival. She recovered Treviso, Istria, and the Polesine of Rovigo, while Genoa, wearied with her discords, gave herself up to France, who sent the marshal Boucicault to govern her (1401). Under this new administration Genoa flourished, and after a short war with Venice, consented to put an end to a disastrous rivalry, in order to think only of enlarging her power at the expense of strangers.

249. *War against the Milanese.—Revolution in Genoa.*—Venice, seconded by the condottiere *Carmagola*, whom she had detached by liberal offers from the service of Milan, turned her victorious arms against the cities of Lombardy, and got possession of Vicenza, Verona, Padua (1410), Brescia, and Bergamo (1448): during the same period she took Dalmatia from the king of Hungary (1426), and Friuli from the patriarch of Aquileja. Her progress was only checked by *Francis Sforza*, who compelled her to accept peace just as the Turks made themselves masters of Constantinople (v. *treaty of Lodi*, § viii.).

The Genoese, having driven away the French (1409),

tried during the next fifty years every form of government : re-established and overthrew their doges, submitted to the sovereignty of Milan (1419-1435), and recovering their liberty, wasted in anarchy a strength which they ought to have consecrated to the defence of Constantinople (1453), whose fall, neither they nor their rivals knew how either to prevent, or to avenge. This great event, however, decided the decay of the two republics.

### § VIII.

#### HOUSE OF ARAGON.—TREATY OF LODI.

250. *Contest between Frederic II., and Robert of Anjou.*  
 —*Jane I.*—During this period, important revolutions had several times changed the face of the southern portion of the peninsula. The two Sicilies, separated by the catastrophe of the Sicilian vespers, could not be reunited by treaties. The son of Peter of Aragon, *Frederic II.* (1296-1337), refused to give up Sicily, and was sustained by the emperor and the Ghibellines. *Robert the Wise* (1309-1343), successor of Charles II. of Anjou, although chief of all the Guelph states of Italy, could not wrest Sicily from his rival, and reigned only on the continent. The tyranny of his granddaughter *Jane I.* (1343), was felt all the more deeply from its contrast with the mildness and wisdom of the preceding reign. This princess, celebrated by her crimes and misfortunes, opened—by the murder of Andrew of Hungary, her husband—a long career of scandals and crimes. She married Lewis of Tarentum, one of the murderers of her first husband ; but the king of Hungary taking up arms to avenge his brother, invaded Italy, with a black banner for his standard with the bloody body of the unfortunate Andrew

painted on it. Soon the queen had nothing left but the cities of Naples and Aversa. Clement V. interposed his mediation. But Jane reascended the throne only to dishonor it by new excesses. Widow of James of Aragon, whom she had married after the death of Lewis of Tarentum, she gave her hand to a captain of Condottieri. Childless, though four times married, she named her relation *Charles Durazzo* her successor; and then irritated by his machinations, revoked her nomination and adopted *Lewis of Anjou*, son of John king of France. But Durazzo, by vigorous exertion, seized upon the government; and taking Jane prisoner, had her strangled in prison (May 13, 1382).

251. *Jane II.—Rivalry of Alphonso of Aragon and Renato of Anjou.—Treaty of Lodi.*—A long quarrel arose from the rival pretensions of the two claimants of the throne of Naples; and though suspended for a moment under *Jane II.* (1414–1435) last heir of Durazzo, was revived with new vigor after the death of this princess, who proved herself, by her scandalous life, a worthy successor of the first Jane. At first she had adopted *Alphonso V. of Aragon*, and then replaced him by *Lewis III. of Anjou*; and then by *Renato d'Anjou*, after the death of his brother. Each of these princes supported his claim by the act in his favor. But Alphonso, the most powerful and most skilful, took possession of Naples, and re-established the unity of the kingdom of the two Sicilies (1442), in spite of an unfortunate war against the duke of Milan and all the efforts of Renato, who transmitted his rights to his nephew *Charles of Maine*. These rights were one day to pass to the crown of France, and give rise to new wars. Master of Southern Italy, Alphonso, whose noble qualities won him the surname of *Magnanimous*, and whom Mariana calls *the glory of the Spanish nation*, gave all his attention to the re-establishment of tranquillity in his states and throughout Italy. He adhered to

the *treaty of Lodi*, which terminated in 1454 the long quarrel of Milan and Venice, by securing to the Lombard republic the ancient district of Cremona and the Ghiaradadda. All the little states of the North were compelled to subscribe to the treaty. The pope and republic of Florence acceded to it, and it may be regarded as the act of the general pacification of Italy.

## CHAPTER XV.

### FRANCE AND ENGLAND DURING THE FIRST PERIOD OF THEIR RIVALRY.

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#### SUMMARY.

§ I. Enfranchisement of communities.—Their constitution.—Lewis the Fat.—Contest with feudalism.—Beginning of the rivalry with England.—Lewis VII.—Philip Augustus arms against England: contends with his vassals.—Battle of Bouvines.—War of the Albigenes.—Lewis VIII.—St. Lewis.—Regency of Blanche of Castile.—Success against the English.—Character of the policy of St. Lewis: his influence.—The crusades.—Philip the Bold.—Disputes with Spain.—Philip the Fair: his wars: his despotism.—States-general.—Civilians.—Quarrel with Boniface VIII.—Abolition of the order of the Templars.—Lewis the Stubborn (*le Hutin*).—Philip the Long.—Charles the Fair.—Progress of national liberty.—End of the first phase of the contest between France and England.

§ II. England.—Causes of the rivalry of France and England.—Quarrels of the sons of William the Conqueror.—William Rufus.—Henry Beaclerc.—William Cliton despoiled by his uncles: succored by the king of France.—Stephen.—Power of the vassals.—Oppression of the people.—*Henry I. Plantagenet, marries Eleanor of Guyenne.*—*Thomas à Becket*.—Submission of Brittany.—Conquest of Ireland.—Revolt of the sons of Henry.—*Richard I. Cœur de Lion*.—Crusade.—Exploits and captivity of Richard.—Usurpation of John Lackland.—Richard's return to England.—Reign of John.—Murder of Arthur of Brittany.—Disputes with Philip Augustus.—England declared a fief of the Holy See.—Magna-Charta.—Revolt of the barons.—Lewis of France

king of England.—Henry III.—Parliament.—Simon of Leicester.—Statutes of Oxford.—St. Lewis umpire between Henry and his barons.—Henry delivered from his captivity by his son Edward.—Edward I.—Submission of Wales.—Contest with Scotland.—*Exploits of Wallace*.—Robert Bruce.—Edward II.: his weakness.—Confirmation of Magna-Charta.—Influence of favorites.—New contest with Robert Bruce.—Independence of Scotland.—Edward dethroned by his wife Isabel, leagued with the barons: his frightful death.

§ III. Peculiar character of the feudal power in England.—The barons labor to extend national liberty.—Influence of Magna-Charta.—*Organization of parliaments*.—*Their origin and development*.—*Progress of cities*.—*Their wealth and power*.—*Deputies of the commons*.

## § I.

HISTORY OF FRANCE UNDER THE CAPETIANS, FROM LEWIS THE FAT TO THE ACCESSION OF PHILIP OF VALOIS.—REVOLUTION IN THE COMMUNITIES OF THE NORTH OF FRANCE.—ST. LEWIS.—ALBIGENSES.—DISPUTES OF PHILIP THE FAIR WITH ENGLAND—WITH SPAIN—WITH THE HOLY SEE.—TEMPLARS.—PROGRESS OF THE ROYAL POWER.—CONVOCAION OF THE STATES-GENERAL.

252. The history of France during this period presents a double aspect: without, the first phase of the rivalry with England; within, the formation of French nationality by the enfranchisement of communities, and the simultaneous development of monarchical power.

A popular opinion refers the enfranchisement of communities to Lewis the Fat. We must not suppose that this species of republics, free in spite of feudal despotism, sprang up all of a sudden and for the first time under the fourth Capetian. In the south of France there had remained deep traces of the Roman municipal government: a great number of cities had preserved their institutions and their form of go-

vernment independent of the feudal hierarchy which reigned around them. They had for centuries been real communities, destined to serve as a model for those which were to be formed in the North in opposition to feudal tyranny, and which were first known under the name of *conspiracies*. Their distinctive characteristic was an association sworn and authorized by an authentic act; the drawing up and confirmation of usages and customs; the attribution of rights and privileges, among which was a jurisdiction more or less extensive, intrusted to magistrates chosen by the communities from themselves.

Nor is it true that the establishment of communities was the result of a plan formed by royal policy against the clergy and nobility. The king undoubtedly availed himself of communities to strengthen his authority; and stood ready to extend his jurisdiction over all the cities which had freed themselves from that of the nobles: but far the greater part of these communities sprang from an insurrection against the intolerable yoke of feudality, and the king did nothing more than sanction the liberty which they had already won. The first charters granted by the king, go back in France to the twelfth century; from which time they follow in unbroken succession till the moment when they acquired a political existence by the introduction of the third estate into the states-general.

253. *Reign of Lewis V., the Fat.*—*Lewis the Fat* (1108–1137), whose warlike activity had won for him in his youth the surname of *active and disputatious*, began the contest against feudality much more like a valiant knight than a profound politician; with lance and sword, rather than by profound and skilful combinations. The part which he took in the enfranchisement of the first communities, was very indirect; but he was actively engaged in enforcing the royal authority, by waging an incessant war against the nobles in



favor of their oppressed vassals, and seizing at the same time every occasion of avenging himself for the progress of his too powerful vassal the king of England. He may justly be considered as the restorer of royalty, which was far from having recovered under the first successors of Hugh Capet, the power and splendor which it had wholly lost under the last Carolingians.

Watching over the safety of his subjects and tranquility of his kingdom, constantly threatened by the turbulence of the vassals; he forced the lord of Bourbon to yield; defended the bishop of Clermont against the count of Auvergne; placed himself as umpire between the pretenders to the inheritance of the count of Flanders; and destroyed the fortresses in which the lords of Coucy and St. Brisson had heaped up the products of their robberies.

Without, he sustained vigorously against Henry I. of England, a war which had begun by the entrance of the English into Gisors (v. No. 263). The king of England victorious at Brenneville (1119), succeeded in inducing the emperor Henry V. to take up arms in his favor, and France was menaced with a formidable invasion: but Lewis collected a powerful force, and made such good preparation that the invaders retired with precipitation (1124).

254. *Lewis VII., the Young.*—Lewis the Fat died in 1137, leaving to his son *Lewis the Young* a throne consolidated by skilful government; and a domain enlarged by the marriage which he had made him contract with Eleanor of Aquitania (v. § ii. of this ch.).

The national reaction against feudality continued during the new reign (1137–1180), in spite of the unskilfulness of a prince who did not know how to profit by any of the wise lessons which he had received from his father. In an expedition against the count of Champagne, he had burnt the inhabitants of the little town of Vitry, who had taken refuge

in the church. To expiate this cruelty he imprudently took the cross at the preaching of St. Bernard, in spite of the councils of his prudent minister *Suger*, and lost his soldiers beyond the sea, in an ill-conceived and ill-directed enterprise. The skilful administration of *Suger* repaired the consequences of this unfortunate expedition. But after his death, a fatal event, the king's divorce, stripped the crown of the rich and fertile provinces, which Eleanor of Aquitania transferred to England by her marriage with Henry Plantagenet (1152). Henry's hostility to France was not long in manifesting itself openly, and his power to injure her was still more increased by the marriage of his third son with the heiress of the duke of Brittany (1166). A great many communities received, during this reign, their charters of enfranchisement; but the royal domain, reduced again to its narrow limits between the Seine and Loire, was bounded on the north and the south by the vast provinces of the king of England.

255. *Reign of Philip Augustus.*—It was reserved to *Philip Augustus* (1180–1223) to repair triumphantly the faults of his predecessor. Ascending the throne at fifteen, he disconcerts by his firmness the ambitious projects of his mother and uncles, reduces his vassals to obedience, compels the count of Flanders to acknowledge, on his knees, his suzerainty, and give up to him, with the Vermandois, the cities of Peronne and St. Quentin (1185), and at the same time foment the rebellion of the sons of his rival, Henry of England. He gives royalty an immense ascendant by making himself the judge of all questions of fiefs, and compels feudalism to submit to the court of peers, a tribunal which, though drawn from its own bosom, sets legal bounds to the arbitrary power of the great. Not less skilful in his foreign policy, he spurs on Henry's successor, the ardent Richard Cœur de Lion, to the crusade; while he limits his own ex-

ertions to a rapid campaign, and leaving the king of England to win an empty renown by useless exploits, returns to watch over the events of Europe.

Richard's return, after a long captivity, caused the explosion of a hostility, the symptoms of which had appeared during the crusade. The war had no other result than the devastation of the Vexin and Normandy; but after the death of the king of England, a brilliant period began for the king of France (1199). In a seven years' contest he wrested from the cowardly and unskilful John, the assassin of his nephew, Arthur of Brittany, a great part of his continental domains, in execution of a decree of the court of peers (1199-1206) (v. § ii. of this ch.). The supreme ascendancy of the pontifical power, whose protection John had implored, put an end to Philip's progress, while the Englishman, stripped of his states, seconded against France the emperor of Germany, Otho IV., the dukes of Brabant and Limburg; the count of Flanders, the count of Boulogne, and almost all the lords of Normandy, Anjou, and Aquitania, united against the French throne in the name of feudality. But Philip, supported by the troops of the communities, triumphed at *Bouvines* over all his enemies at once, and in spite of the immense superiority of their army (1214). The emperor fled, and the principal chiefs fell into the hands of the king of France, who soon had the satisfaction of seeing the crown, which had been snatched from the worthless John, offered to his son by the English themselves (1215). Memorable reign, and one, the glory of which would have been untarnished, if the war of the Albigenses had not mingled its frightful scenes with the splendor of this eventful epoch.

256. *War of the Albigenses.*—*Lewis VIII. the Lion.*—A violent persecution against the Jews (1180-1182), who were stripped of the wealth accumulated in their hands, was the prelude of the war which was about to cover France with

ruins and blood. After many efforts vainly made by St. Bernard and Popes Alexander III. and Innocent III., to induce the Albigenses to renounce their faith and acknowledge the Catholic church, it was resolved to try the force of arms, and a crusade was preached against them. The count of Montfort, leader of the crusaders, ravaged the flourishing districts of the south of France with fire and sword, and took from the count of Toulouse all his states, already far superior to the rest of Europe in culture and civilization. Philip had sent his sons to this horrid war, although he had refused to take a part in it himself. His successor, *Lewis the Lion* (1223-1226), less prudent than his father, turned aside from his successful career against the English, whom he had already stripped of lower Poitou, Aunis, the Limousin, and Perigord (1224), to direct all his efforts against the count of Toulouse, after having caused Amaury of Montfort to cede to him all the rights which he had received from the court of Rome. The preaching of a new crusade brought a large number of warriors to the standard of the king, who had already made himself master of Avignon and Nismes, when he was carried off by a contagious disease (1226).

257. *Reign of St. Lewis.*—Lewis VIII. left an insecure sceptre to a son but eleven years old. But the regency was in the hands of *Blanche* of Castile, and the king was *St. Lewis*. It was in vain that the king's uncle attempted to seize upon the regency, and that the great vassals, sustained by the king of England, leagued together to recover, by profiting by a minority, the ascendancy which feudality had lost under the last reigns. The regent thwarted all their plots by negotiations and by arms. The counts of Champagne, of Toulouse, and Brittany, were reduced to submission; and the marriage of the young king with Margaret, daughter of the count of Provence, secured an augmentation of

rich and powerful provinces to the crown. Lewis IX. attaining his majority at the age of twenty-one, displayed all the virtues of a saint, and all the genius of a great man (1226-1270).

His life was passed in defending the interests of his country, and the still higher interests of Christendom. He followed up with indefatigable energy and admirable disinterestedness the national work of Lewis the Fat and Philip Augustus—a work of internal organization, and of slow but sure aggrandizement abroad. The victories of *Tailleburg* and *Saintes*, which he won over Henry III. of England, ally of the rebellious counts of Toulouse and de la Marche, inaugurated his reign (1242). But in the midst of his triumph he respected the obligations of a scrupulous equity, and a treaty guarantied by an act of unheard-of generosity (1259) defines the territories of France by securing her supremacy. If he gives up to Henry III. the Limousin, Perigord, Quercy, and Agenois, he obliges him to abandon his claims upon Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Poictou: he had already won the county of Toulouse, of Maçon, and a part of that of Champagne; and to these he added in the sequel the counties of Carcassonne and Perche (1257), and a large number of cities and castles. At the same time, wise regulations fix the relations between sovereign and subject, and the scale of the feudal hierarchy; the right of appeal to the king, extended and generalized, offers a sure refuge against the tyranny of the barons. The promulgation of the ordinance so celebrated by the title of *Establishments of St. Lewis*, gave the nation a regular code, combining the principles of the Roman law, the different *customs* of the monarchy, the orders in council of the kings, and the decrees of councils. It was the signal of a return towards uniform legislation, that unspeakable benefit of modern times. The king himself gave the example of the wisest and most paternal

administration of justice, multiplying charters of enfranchisement, developing provincial assemblies, and preparing the way for the organization of the states general, by calling the commons to the assemblies of the barons, organized as parliaments. The history of his reign might be comprised in the words of Mueller: "Arms had founded the empire of the Franks, but virtue consolidated royalty in France."

Nor is it posterity alone that gives the name of virtuous to St. Lewis. His contemporaries bore testimony to his justice, submitting their disputes to his decision as to an unimpeachable tribunal, and relying with perfect confidence on his disinterestedness and honor. The only spot in this bright character was the fatal error of the crusades, and even this is so nearly allied to virtue that we rather deplore it than condemn.

258. *Philip the Bold*.—The consequences of the elevated policy of St. Lewis were manifested under his successors. *Philip the Bold* (1270–1285) had returned from Africa with the coffin of his father, of several princes of the blood, and powerful lords. The inheritance of several of these escheated to the royal domain, which had already acquired or recovered the counties of Valois, Poictou, and Toulouse. At the same time the king gave an indirect but fatal blow to the feudal caste, by authorizing plebeians to purchase fiefs with all the rights attached to that form of property. The reign of Philip the Bold was also occupied by wars of small importance, against the count de Foix, who was compelled to do homage to the king of France; against the king of Castile, Sancho the Brave, who had deprived Philip's nephews, the children of Lacerda, of their rights to the throne; and against Peter III. of Aragon, who, after the Sicilian vespers, had been master of Sicily. These wars continued under his successors (died 1285).

259. *Philip the Fair*.—*His wars*.—*His despotism*.—Philip

the Fair, after having terminated, by the treaty of Tarascon, his fruitless and onerous wars with Spain, cited Edward I. of England before the court of peers, and on his refusal to appear, pronounced the confiscation of Guyenne. But Edward armed the count of Flanders against him, and the French, victorious at *Furnes* (1297), saw their cavalry almost annihilated at the fatal combat of *Tournai* (1302). Philip's victory at *Mons en Puelle* did not prevent the Flemings from raising another army of sixty thousand men, and he granted them an honorable peace (1305). The war with England had already been terminated by reference to Boniface VIII. (1298), both parties making concessions and abandoning their feeble allies.

These wars exhausted the finances of the French king, and led him to some very tyrannical measures. He plundered the Jews and Lombards, who carried on almost all the commerce of the kingdom, stripped the commons of part of their plate, falsified the currency, and used every shameful and tyrannical expedient for filling his coffers. The people murmured, but Philip overcame every attempt at resistance, and established his despotism by judicious and skilful measures. He fortified the royal power by the concurrence of the nation, called the commons, who as yet had only appeared in the king's armies, to discuss the great questions of national interest with the barons and clergy, and established the states general, which were assembled for the first time in 1302. At the same time he introduced into the parliaments, now definitively organized as regular and permanent supreme courts of justice, the class of *civilians* or lawyers, a class which, though devoted in its origin to the will of the king and a blind instrument of his tyranny, accomplished in the sequel an important mission, by resisting feudal influence, and gradually undermining the political power of the clergy.

260. *Quarrel with Boniface VIII.—Process of the Tem-*

*plars*.—The insufficiency of the resources he had hitherto obtained by his exactions, led Philip to think of taxing the possessions of the clergy. From this sprang the famous quarrel between the king of France and Boniface VIII. Boniface reproached Philip with his injustice and his exactions; and even went so far as to menace the independence of his crown. Philip, relying upon the support of the states general, falsified the papal bull, and replied with insolence. The pope had recourse to excommunication, and the king sent his chancellor, William of Nogaret, accompanied by a Roman exile, Colonna, to brave the pontiff in Italy. Boniface was at Anagni, a small town in the Roman territory. Colonna came upon him by surprise, made him prisoner in his palace, carried his violence so far as to strike him in the presence of Nogaret, and though he was quickly liberated, he died a few days after from rage and humiliation. Philip, not contented with this shameful vengeance, instituted a scandalous suit against him after death, and imposed upon his successor a secret condition which was to furnish new food for his avidity. This was the abolition of the order of Templars, which was pronounced by the council of Vienne (1312). This famous order had acquired a power and wealth which alarmed Philip's jealousy, while they inflamed his avidity. The Templars were all arrested on the same day throughout all France, subjected to an atrocious form of trial, and condemned to be burnt as heretics, with their grand master, James Molay (1314). Philip survived this horrible execution only a few months.

261. *Reigns of the sons of Philip the Fair.—Extinction of the first branch of the Capetians.*—Philip the Fair left three sons, who succeeded one another rapidly upon the throne.

*Lewis the Stubborn (le Hutin) (1314–1316)*, characterized a two years' reign by vigorous measures against law-



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famous rivalry between England and France, which cost the latter such long and bitter trials. This contest might have been foreseen from the day when a vassal of the French king won for himself a royal crown, and became as powerful as his suzerain. The king of France, while defending his territory against a rival whose domains extended into the heart of his kingdom, exacted testimonials of subordination, a homage of dependence which wounded the pride of the king of England. Thus there was a double cause of discord in their relations, too active and too constant to admit of any permanent peace or union between them. William the Conqueror died, as we have seen, while on the point of marching on Paris. Under his sons the contest began anew, and was perpetuated almost uninterruptedly through nearly four centuries.

263. *Quarrels of the sons of William the Conqueror.*—

For a moment after William's death his inheritance was divided. While his second son, *William Rufus* (1087), ran to seize the crown at Westminster, in violation of the rights of his oldest, *Robert*, the latter was proclaimed duke of Normandy at Rouen, and Henry Beauclerc, the youngest, attempted to maintain his independence in spite of the efforts of his two brothers. This prince had been stripped of his last fortress, when Robert's departure for the crusade threw Normandy into William's hands for the paltry sum of ten thousand marcs, which he advanced to his brother to aid him in fitting out his expedition. During Robert's absence in the Holy Land William died, and Henry seized the crown (1100). He tried to win the good will of the Saxons by promising to restore the laws of Edward the Confessor, and by publishing the *charta libertatum*. Meanwhile Robert returned to claim his crown, and after an unsuccessful contest (1106), was thrown into prison, where he died. Henry, relieved from the fear of a rival, forgot his promises, and the

yoke, in spite of the intercessions of his wife *Matilda the good queen*, fell as heavy upon the Saxons as before. "If I reign," said his son, "I will make those Saxons draw the plough like oxen." Fortunately he did not reign, and his early death by shipwreck was looked upon by the Saxons as a vengeance of heaven upon his evil intentions. At the same time a son of the unfortunate Robert, *William Cliton*, took refuge in France, and Lewis the Fat offered to assist him in reconquering his paternal domains on the continent. But the battle of *Brenneville* opened, by a reverse, the contest between England and France. Henry retained his possessions, while William, who had become count of Flanders, was killed in a revolt of his new subjects.

264. *Reign of Stephen.—Power of feudality.*—At the death of Henry, the throne belonged to his daughter *Matilda*, widow of the emperor Henry, and wife of Geoffrey Plantagenet, count of Anjou. The barons preferred Stephen, count of Boulogne, grandson on his mother's side of William the Conqueror (1135). A bloody contest broke out between the rivals. Stephen, victorious over the Scotch, who had declared for Matilda (1138), then defeated and taken prisoner, could only preserve his crown by naming for his successor *Henry*, the son of his rival (1153). This troubled reign was the triumph of the pitiless Norman feudality, and England was crushed by a frightful oppression. "In the times of this king," says the Saxon chronicler, "all was dissension, misery, rapine. The rich soon rose up against him. They built castles to defend themselves, and filled these castles with the demons of hell. They laid hold on every body whom they suspected of having any property, and even women in childbirth; threw them into prison to extort from them gold and silver, and made them suffer indescribable tortures: some they hung by the feet, making them breathe a filthy smoke; others by the thumbs or by the beard, tying coats of

mail to their feet: they buried them in dungeons with adders and toads: thousands were left to die of hunger. You might travel a whole day without meeting a man in a village, or seeing an acre of cultivated ground. To cultivate the land was like tilling the sea." This lasted during the nineteen years of Stephen's reign.

265. *Reign of Henry II. Plantagenet.*—*Thomas à Becket.*—During all this time England and France were at peace; but a new cause of jealousy and rivalry was about to give rise to more violent disputes. *Henry II. Plantagenet* had married the divorced wife of Lewis VII., *Eleanor of Guyenne* (1152), who brought him in dower the finest provinces of the south of France. A league which the king of France formed against England, and Henry's attempts against the counts of Toulouse and Brittany, had already manifested the hostile dispositions of the two princes, when the famous quarrel broke out between the king of England and *Thomas à Becket*.

Henry II., who wished to annihilate the excessive influence which William's policy had given to the Norman clergy, had given the archbishopric of Canterbury to one of his creatures, a debauched courtier, whom he hoped to make the servile instrument of his designs (1162). But no sooner was Thomas à Becket invested with his new dignity, than a sudden reform in his life and manners showed that he felt the importance of his mission. Henry, enraged at finding him an intrepid defender of the privileges of the church, compelled him to quit England and seek an asylum in France. Lewis VII. immediately took him under his protection. Alexander III. refused to consent to his deposition, and Henry, compelled to an apparent reconciliation, permitted him to return to his church (1170). But Thomas, who knew that the vengeance of the king was not satisfied, had asked of the pope, in setting out for England, the prayers for the dying.

A short time after his return, Henry, on learning a new act of opposition to the royal will, exclaimed in a passion, "I am surrounded by men whom I have loaded with favors: have I no friend?" His wish was understood. A few days afterwards four of the king's household assaulted Becket in church, and killed him at the foot of the altar. "May my blood restore liberty and peace to the church," were his dying words (1170, Dec. 29). A general cry of indignation broke forth against the murderers, who, despairing of pardon, went to die in the Holy Land. The king of England himself made a pilgrimage to the spot where his victim had been buried, and submitted to be flagellated by a monk, and pray a day and a night at the martyr's tomb. But he consoled himself for this humiliation by the submission of Brittany to his supremacy, if not to his sovereignty, and by the conquest of Ireland, which was never more to shake off the English yoke.

286. *Revolt of the sons of Henry II.*—The revolts of the sons of the king of England, fomented by the king of France, excited new troubles in the kingdom. Henry, the eldest, son-in-law of the king of France, claimed an extensive appanage in England. Richard wished to make himself independent in Aquitania: Geoffrey pretended to the duchy of Brittany. Their mother, the inconstant Eleanor, irritated at the culpable relations of her husband with the beautiful Rosamond Clifford, encouraged her sons in their projects of revolt, and the king of Scotland, who hoped to gain by their dissensions, sent an army to assist them.

This war was only interrupted for a moment by the success of the king against the Scotch, and the mediation of the Holy See, to begin again between the three brothers with redoubled violence, and last till the death of Henry and Geoffrey (1178–1186). Richard, excited by the intrigues of the new king of France, the young but skilful Philip Augustus, turned once more his sacrilegious arms against his father,

and Henry, compelled to submit to a humiliating treaty, and abandoned by John, the youngest of his sons, died of grief at the castle of Chinon (1189).

267. *Richard I. Coeur de Lion*.—At the news of the fall of Jerusalem, Henry II. had taken the cross with Philip Augustus. The adventurous *Richard I.* (1189–1199) accomplished with ardor this vow of a father whose death was in part owing to his ingratitude. The crusade was preached throughout England, and the blind zeal of the people broke out, at first, by a frightful massacre of the Jews, who were slaughtered or burned in almost all the principal cities of the kingdom. The king set out with his knights, after having made provisions for the government during his absence. His almost fabulous exploits are well known, as well as the misfortunes which attended his return. The duke of Austria, into whose hands he had fallen, was compelled to give him up to the emperor, who sold him his liberty for a hundred thousand marcs of silver. Richard consented at the same time to hold his kingdom as a fief of the emperor, a striking contrast to the dignified and noble conduct of St. Lewis, when a prisoner in Egypt. During his absence, the king of France had invaded Normandy, and John usurped the royal authority in England. But the cowardly usurper did not dare to face the anger of the *unchained lion*, and to merit his pardon, he allowed the Irish garrison which Philip had sent him to be massacred. A violent war broke out between France and England, which was ended by the intervention of Innocent III. and a truce of five years (1197). The hero of the third crusade lost his life like an obscure paladin before a petty fortress of Limousin.

268. *Murder of Arthur of Brittany*.—*Usurpation of John*.—By right of descent the crown belonged to *Arthur* of Brittany, son of Geoffrey Plantagenet; but Richard's brother John was proclaimed in England, by the influence of his

mother Eleanor, and Arthur, who had been made prisoner, with several noblemen whom the barbarous conqueror suffered to die of hunger, was conducted to Rouen and thrown into a dungeon. "In the middle of the night, in the week before Easter" (1202), says an old chronicler, "John, urged on by drunkenness and an evil spirit, killed his nephew with his own hand, because the hand of his squire trembled, and threw the body into the Seine; and it was for this that he became the object of the blackest hatred of all the human race."

The king of France instantly seized the occasion, and declaring himself avenger of the murdered orphan, summoned John, as duke of Normandy and Aquitania, to come and answer before the court of peers, for the murder of Arthur, duke of Brittany, rear-vassal of the kingdom of France, whom Philip, his sovereign, was bound to protect. John refusing to appear, judgment was given against him, as in a state of contumacy, and the sentence, which though dictated perhaps by ambition, was in strict conformity with feudal law, stripped England of Touraine, Maine, Anjou (1203), Normandy (1205), and Poitou (1206). At the same time the thunders of the Holy See struck the parricidal king, and Philip was upon the point of making an invasion on England in execution of the pontifical decree, when John disarmed the pope by resigning his states and receiving them again as a fief of the church for a tribute of a thousand marcs of silver (1213).

Philip was compelled to spare the prince, who had declared himself the repentant son and faithful vassal of the church, and respect the patrimony of St. Peter.

269. *Magna Charta.—Revolt of the English barons.*—But John's reign was neither happier nor more tranquil. The English barons, tired of the tyranny of a prince whose cowardice was only equalled by his incapacity, formed a league to enforce the solemn recognition of the rights of the

nation. They drew up the celebrated manifesto known by the name of *Magna Charta*, in which it was laid down as a principle, that no war tax could be levied except with the consent of the ecclesiastical and temporal barons and other royal vassals, great or small; that no freeman should be arrested, imprisoned, taken from his manor, or exiled, except in consequence of a legal decision of his peers, and in force of the law of the land; that every fine should be in proportion to the offence; that the utensils necessary to a man in the exercise of his profession, the arms of a gentleman, the wares of a merchant, the cattle and tools of a laborer, should not be liable to seizure; and finally, that no governor nor functionary of the crown should take from any body whatever his property, or impose tribute labor by his own decree. Still the royal prerogative was untouched, and the great vassals were bound to acquit themselves of the same obligations towards the crown which they could require from their rear-vassals.

This act, which established for the first time, in a fixed and certain manner, some equality of rights between all classes of freemen, and which is still regarded as the cornerstone of English liberty, was presented to the king, in the presence of all the lords, by the bishop of Canterbury, and signed by the prince and all the nobles of the nation (1215). Yet John ventured to break his solemn pledge, and furious at the humiliation that he had received, levied an army to ravage the lands of the barons. The indignant barons wrested the crown from the perjured king, and offered it to Philip of France, son of Philip Augustus (1216). But this prince's partiality towards his own countrymen wounded the pride of the English nation, who compelled Lewis to yield the sceptre to *Henry III.*, John's son, as soon as the death of the father had appeased the hatred of his former subjects (1217).



270. *Henry III.—Statutes of Oxford.*—The vigorous firmness of the regent, Henry de Burgh, during the minority of Henry III., had put an end to internal disorders ; and a solemn confirmation of magna charta seemed to promise a prosperous and glorious reign, by reconciling the crown and the nation, when the young prince, receiving in 1227 the power into his own hands, blighted all these brilliant expectations. Unsuccessful in his wars against St. Lewis (1241), he returned home with the odious surname of coward, exciting the indignation of the great by giving an undue influence to the relations of his wife, Eleanor of Provence, and insulting the misery of the people by a blind prodigality. The massacre of the Jews and confiscation of their wealth could not fill his exhausted coffers. The nation grew weary. The bishops pronounced terrible anathemas against any one that should dare to violate the liberties of the kingdom ; and the barons, under the guidance of *Simon* of Leicester, count of Montfort, took up arms, and imposed upon the king a parliament which deserved the name of *mad*: first and violent essay of representative government in England (1258). Twenty-four barons were intrusted with the general administration of the kingdom, with the power of redressing wrongs and reforming the state, but subject however to the approbation of parliament, which was to meet three times a year. Henry swore to the *statutes of Oxford*. Royalty seemed abolished. Vainly did Henry obtain from the pope a dispensation from his oath. Vainly was the mediation of St. Lewis, whose virtue made him the arbiter of all Europe, interposed between the parties. It was necessary to have recourse to arms. Aided by the London militia, Montfort's troops conquered : Henry III. and his son fell into the hands of the enemy, and their chief reigned over England in the name of the captive king (1264). Sustaining his power by the concurrence of the representatives of the commons, the

young and valiant Edward, who had escaped from his prison, avenged his father and stifled the revolt by the victory of Evesham, which cost Montfort his life: the rebels were proscribed, but all Henry's efforts to make parliament resign the liberties which they had won were fruitless.

271. *Reign of Edward I.—Contest with Scotland.*—This wretched reign ended in 1272, while the king's son was displaying his courage against the infidels. The aim of the new king's policy (Edward I., 1272–1307) was to unite the whole of Great Britain under his sceptre. Wales, subjected to a nominal suzerainty, preserved its ancient independence by the side of the royal domains. But the predictions of her bards, and the courage of her chiefs, were unavailing when opposed to Edward's skill: the last of the Welsh princes was put to an ignominious death: his limbs were sent to the principal cities of the kingdom, and Wales groaned, like Ireland, under the weight of a long tyranny (1276).

The same fate seemed reserved for Scotland. The cowardly *Baliol*, menaced by the pretensions of Edward, came to swear fealty and homage (1292), and soon atoned for a moment of energy by a still more absolute submission. A brilliant campaign made the king of England master of all Scotland (1296). But a hero rose to wash out the shame of his country in blood. While Baliol languished in captivity, a young man, William Wallace, gathered around him a band of hardy followers, and began by bold excursions a series of incredible exploits. His band soon grew to an army: many nobles rallied around him in defence of the national cause: the English army was defeated and compelled to evacuate Scotland (1297), and the victors extended their ravages into the northern provinces of England. Wallace was named regent, and could he have united the country, might have saved it. But petty jealousies undermined his power, which he was compelled to resign, and the defeat of *Falkirk* (1196)

decided the first act of the drama. Wallace took refuge in the mountains, where he was betrayed by one of his own party, *Monteith*, carried to London, and publicly executed. A new outbreak (1302) cost the Scots the forfeiture of their laws, their charters, and their privileges.

But the patriotic enthusiasm of Wallace had left its traces in the hearts of his countrymen, and raised them up a new avenger. *Robert Bruce*, the powerful count of Carrick, escaped by a skilful artifice from Edward's court, where he was held in a sort of honorable captivity, called the Scotch to arms, and in spite of two defeats was crowned king of Scotland (1306). Edward died on his march against him, and sullied his last day by ordering the massacre of the young Scotch, whom he held in hostage (1307). The wars of this prince against France led to no important result, serving only to confirm him in the possession of Guyenne.

272. *Edward II.—Independence of Scotland.—Weakness of her government.*—The firmness of Edward I., which too often degenerated into barbarity, had held England submissive. But when *Edward II.* (1307–1327) was seen leading his army shamefully back from the frontiers of Scotland, and giving up the government to an unworthy favorite, Peter Gaveston, the indignant barons compelled the king to confirm the charter anew, and banish the hated minister.

Gaveston fell into the hands of the lords. "You have caught the fox," said one of them; "if you let him get away, you will have to begin your hunt again." He was put to death, without Edward's daring to say a word to save his favorite (1312).

A reconciliation, bought by baseness and cowardice, did not add much to the strength of the king. Compelled to take up arms against the Scotch, who had invaded England, he called in the aid of all the adventurers of Europe, by promising to parcel out Scotland among them. A hundred

thousand men assembled under his banners : but still he was defeated at *Bannockburn* by the little army of Robert Bruce (1314). For a moment Bruce placed his own brother on the throne of Ireland. A few years afterwards Edward took advantage of the troubles that agitated Scotland, to attempt another expedition. But the battle of *Byland* was as unfortunate as that of *Bannockburn*, and Bruce, now old and infirm, illustrated the last year of his glorious career by compelling Edward II. to sign a treaty recognizing the full and entire independence of Scotland and her crown (peace of Northampton, 1328).

Edward was as unsuccessful in governing as in making war. After Gaveston, another favorite, Hugh Spencer, obtained the control of the feeble prince (1315), and the queen, Isabella of France, who, according to Froissart, was one of the most beautiful women in the world, indignant at her husband's desertion, joined the barons against him and his favorite. An army raised in France and commanded by the queen's lover, young Roger Mortimer, defeated the royal troops and made the king prisoner. The unhappy Edward, after having seen his favorite killed, was solemnly deposed (1327), condemned by his guilty wife to a frightful captivity, and as the ill treatment which he received did not hasten his death rapidly enough, two wretches were employed to put him to death in a manner too horrid to be described.

### § III.

HISTORY OF THE CONSTITUTION OF ENGLAND DURING THIS PERIOD.—REPRESENTATIVES OF THE COMMONS IN PARLIAMENT.

273. *Character of feudality in England.*—The barons extend the national liberty.—In England, as in France, the

enfranchisement of the commons exercises a great influence upon the development of the national constitution: but this revolution bears a special character. In France, feudality, founded upon the ancient customs of Germany, and gradually increasing by the wants of the epoch, had rendered itself independent of the sovereign power, which it had overbalanced and nearly annihilated. From this, English feudality, though imported from France, was essentially different. Suddenly planted in the English soil by the conqueror himself, it was established there for the benefit of the crown; being directed, as its principal aim, to strengthening the relations of submission between the prince and his vassals, and introducing a habit of subjection in the higher grades of the feudal hierarchy, which in France was to be found only in the lower. The English baronies, purposely divided, bore no resemblance to those vast principalities which comprised the greater part of the French territory. The lordships of England, held in virtue of an actual concession of the sovereign, were uniformly characterized by a certain degree of subordination and dependence, while the domains of the great French vassals, many of which had been acquired without the intervention of the crown, and were even more extensive than the royal domains, barely acknowledged in the head of the state a nominal suzerainty. Thus in France it was subject royalty, that sought in the commons a counterpoise for the aristocracy, and united itself with the nation to free both king and people from the tyranny of the lords. In England the movement came from the nobility, who, laboring under the oppression of a superior power, united with the nation to form a constitution. It was for this that the English barons, in their contest with John, demanded a guaranty for the liberty of the people. And perhaps, also, it is to this original distinction that we ought to attribute the violent reaction which was one day to manifest itself in France against the

supremacy of the nobles, and in England that duration of the aristocracy, which, though somewhat undermined, still continues to the present day.

The first phase of the constitutional history of England was accomplished at the moment in which magna charta (1215) and the statutes of Oxford proclaimed in general terms the limits of royal authority, and established the principle of the nation's right to take a part in the government; but without fixing any legal and pacific means for the exercise of rights. From that time the crown was subjected to control, although it could not yet be exercised except by force and an open resistance to the arbitrary will of the sovereign.

274. *Organization of parliament.*—The task of the second epoch was to establish the equilibrium of these powers, to set up against the royal prerogative an energetic and legal action, no longer intrusted to a particular class, but fortified and extended by the actual intervention of the representatives of the nation; the complete organization of *parliament*.

There had been great assemblies in England under William the Conqueror and his successors, but they were exclusively composed of the immediate vassals and tenants of the crown, united, according to the usage of all Christendom, with the bishop, and were as yet only the councils of the king. The national representation was confined to a few deputies of no personal weight, and who were admitted to parliament without any share in its deliberations. Knights of the shire were called to it under William himself and under Henry III.; but some only to explain to the prince the ancient laws of the country, and others to inform against abuses, and lay before Parliament the result of their inquiries. (1258.) The representative system was not really established in England till the Count of Montfort gave the deputies of the commons a share in the deliberations of Parliament.

275. *Progress of the Commons.*—Feudal oppression had weighed heavily upon the cities of England after the conquest. An individual tax, imposed upon every inhabitant, put him at the mercy of his lord, who could multiply his burthens and increase his tributes at will. The conversion of individual tributes into a perpetual rent, due from the whole city, came at last as a guaranty to private property and a protection for industry and commerce. From that time the cities, growing in wealth and strength, began to purchase an exemption from their dues as vassals, and obtain charters of enfranchisement from the king. That of the community of London, which, in the 12th century, contained more than forty thousand inhabitants, goes back to the year 1103, after the accession of Henry I. Thenceforth the title of citizen of that great city became a title of nobility. Several barons applied for admission to the community, and its privileges were expressly sanctioned by the magna charta. Among the twenty-five barons who were to watch over the execution of it, was the mayor of London. Henry II. granted many other municipal charters. The organization resembled that of the French communities in many respects. Thus, Henry I. had granted the members of the community of London, independently of their fiscal and commercial immunities, the right of choosing their sheriffs and judges, to the exclusion of all foreign jurisdiction. This right of election did not become general till the reign of John. For a long time, however, there had been in the principal cities free associations, religious or lay corporations, which administered their own affairs, and received a rapid development as soon as they had been confirmed by the charters of the crown. <sup>(1)</sup>

<sup>(1)</sup> Similar efforts were made at this period in several countries, and with equal success. In Germany, the emperors of the house of Franconia rewarded the fidelity of the cities of the Rhine by the concession of a great number of municipal charters. The communities of Lombardy

276. *The Deputies of the Commons in Parliament.*—*Simon de Montfort*, in his contest with Henry III., felt what strength the support of these powerful cities might give to the party which he led; and on the 12th September, 1264, letters of convocation, addressed to all the sheriffs of the kingdom, enjoined them to elect and send to parliament two knights for each county, two citizens for each city, two burgesses for each market-town. Whatever the views of *Simon* of *Montfort* may have been, this great innovation, prepared by the development of the commons, was destined to survive the fall of its author. The imperious Edward I., conqueror of *Evesham*, after having proscribed and annihilated the party of the rebel, was compelled to respect a prerogative which the English nation was never to lose. It was he who made the deputies of the boroughs a permanent element of parliament. Thenceforth the burgesses shared with the lay and ecclesiastical peers of the kingdom the right of voting supplies and sanctioning laws.

soon became strong enough to resist the imperial supremacy. The confederations which were formed between many of the commercial cities of Germany are unequivocal proofs of the kind of independence which the cities had won.

In Flanders, history shows us several communities, and in particular those of Ghent and Bruges, redoubtable even to foreign kings.

In Spain, too, the enfranchisement of the communities was extensive. It ascends to a very remote period, since at the beginning of the eleventh century, we find mention of municipal councils in several cities; and in the twelfth, the deputies of cities appear in the Cortes. The Cortes of Aragon refused to recognize any right in the king either to make a law or establish a tax without their concurrence.

In Italy, the formation of municipal governments and institution of chartered towns, is closely connected with the most flourishing period of Italian history. It is still a question whether they were any thing more than a revival of the old communities of ancient Italy.



## CHAPTER XVI.

### FRANCE AND ENGLAND DURING THE SECOND PERIOD OF THEIR RIVALRY.

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#### SUMMARY.

§ I. Character of the second period of the contest between France and England.—*Edward III.*—Philip of Valois.—War of Scotland, Flanders, and Brittany.—Combat of Sluis: *battle of Crecy*.—John the Good.—Power of the states general in France.—Invasion of the territory by the English armies.—Internal troubles.—*Battle of Poitiers*: captivity of John the Good. Imprudent reforms attempted by the states.—The jacquerie.—Treaty of Bretigny.—Charles V.—Exploits of du Guesclin.—Truce of Bruges.—Death of Edward III.—*The constitution acquires regularity under his reign*.—Popular movements under Richard II.—Doctrines of Wickliffe.—Reverses of Richard on the continent.—Henry III. of Lancaster.—Insurrections in England.—Accession of Charles VI. in France.—The Maillotins; the Truchins.—Tyranny of the king's uncles.—Derangement of Charles VI.—Assassination of the duke of Orleans.—Rivalry of the Burgundians and Armagnacs.—Anarchy.—Civil war.—Invasion of France.—Battle of Agincourt.—Assassination of John the Bold.—Treaty of Troyes, which gives up France to the English.—Charles VII. and Henry VI.—Reverses of Charles VII.—Joan of Arc.—Exploits of this heroine.—Charles crowned at Rheims.—Expulsion of the English.—Depression of feudalism.—Progress of the royal power.

## § I.

HISTORY OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND FROM THE ACCESSION OF PHILIP OF VALOIS AND EDWARD III. TO THE EXPULSION OF THE ENGLISH.—DEPRESSION OF FEUDALISM IN FRANCE.—CONVOCAION OF THE STATES GENERAL.—REPRESENTATIVES OF THE ENGLISH COMMONS IN PARLIAMENT.—CIVIL DISSENSIONS IN THE TWO KINGDOMS.

277. *Edward III.—Philip of Valois.—Their rivalry.*—The second phase of the rivalry of France and England, known as the *hundred years' war*, begins with the accession of Edward III. in England, and the family of Valois in France, and extends, through an alternation of frightful reverses and brilliant victories, to the end of the middle ages. The contest of this period becomes more general, and is carried on on a larger scale. 'It is no longer a mere question of cities and provinces: but the nationality of France is at stake, and the king of England aims at nothing less than the French throne.

*Edward III.*, who had been proclaimed king of England during the captivity of the unhappy Edward II. (1327), laid claim to the inheritance of Charles IV. by the right of his mother, Isabel of France. The *states general* (1328), conforming to their previous decisions concerning the rights of females to the throne, decided in favor of *Philip of Valois*, descendant by the male line of Philip the Bold, and Edward did homage for the duchy of Guyenne. But a quarrel like this could not be decided by the sentence of a tribunal, and the harmony of the two rivals was any thing but sincere. The Scotch, at war with Edward, who was vainly trying to drive away David Bruce, in order to replace Edward Baliol, had Philip of Valois for their ally. The king of England

gave an asylum to the rebel, Robert of Artois, and excited the Flemings against the French.

278. *Wars in Flanders, in Brittany, and in France.*—*Battle of Crecy.*—The mediation of Pope Benedict XII. could not long retard the rupture which broke out as a consequence of the war already begun with Flanders. In the first year of his reign Philip had fought a bloody but indecisive battle under the walls of *Cassel*, with the Flemings, who had revolted against their count. A few years afterwards, James Artevelt, a brewer by trade, had excited a new revolt, and Edward, declaring in favor of the insurgents, went in person to their assistance, taking first the title of king of France. The destruction of the French fleet near fort *Shuis* (1340) was the great event of this first war, which was soon ended by a truce. But two years afterwards, hostilities were revived by the question of the succession of Brittany, and Philip took the part of Jane of Penthievre, while Jane of Montfort, protected by the king of England, *defended, says Froissart, with the courage of a man and the heart of a lion,* the pretended rights of Montfort, her husband. This *war of the two Janes* lasted till the treaty of Guérande (1365), which secured the possession of Brittany to the house of Montfort.

The year 1346 saw, at the same time, the count of Derby invade the south of France, and Edward, accompanied by his young son, the *prince of Wales*, land on the coast of Normandy, and advance to the environs of the capital. Edward soon retreated before the French army. But the rash valor of the French knights compelled Philip to engage in a disadvantageous position, the fatal battle of *Crecy*, which cost the life of the king's brother, of several princes, and more than thirty thousand soldiers (1346). This disaster was followed by the taking of the important city of Calais, the inhabitants of which, having irritated their conqueror by an obstinate defence of a year, were indebted for their lives to the heroic

devotion of Eustathius of St. Pierre (1347). A little before, the Scotch, allies of the French, had been defeated with the loss of fifteen hundred men, in a great battle, in which the king with several of the principal nobles were taken prisoners.

Philip was obliged to sue for peace (1347). His kingdom was exhausted by a bloody war, ravaged by famine and the plague, and scarcely less so by the exactions of all kinds to which he had had recourse in order to replenish his empty treasury. Disasters of every species seemed to mark the opening of this epoch, so disastrous for France, and for which the acquisition of Dauphiny and the lordship of Montpellier were an inadequate compensation.

279. *John the Good*.—*Battle of Poitiers*.—*Captivity of the king*.—*John the Good*, Philip's successor (1350–1364), appealed to the enthusiasm of the nation, and obtained from the states general large supplies, but only on condition that they should be allowed to superintend the employment of them, and should be assembled regularly every year (1355). But Artois, Languedoc, and Guyenne were all invaded at once, while the kingdom was agitated by the intrigues of Charles the Bad, king of Navarre.

Still the *Black Prince* had imprudently advanced at the head of twelve thousand men into the heart of France, where John, with fifty thousand men at his command, might easily have crushed him. But at *Poitiers*, as at Crecy, the want of discipline and rash impetuosity of the French nobility caused the loss of the battle, and John, with a large number of his nobles, fell into the hands of the enemy (1356).

The king's captivity threw the power into the hands of *Charles the Dauphin*, only nineteen years old, who was pressed at the same time by the attacks of the English and the unreasonable reclamations of the states general, who chose this unpropitious moment for building up their own

authority at the expense of that of the crown. The dauphin could only obtain the necessary supplies by releasing the king of Navarre, chief of all the factions, whom John had thrown into prison, and accepting a council composed of four bishops, twelve knights, and twelve burgesses, to watch over the administration. France, paralyzed by her civil troubles, was saved from the English by Edward's own exhaustion, which compelled him to grant a truce of two years (1357).

280. *Anarchy in France.—The jacquerie (peasantry).—Treaty of Bretigny.*—The internal fermentation broke out with double strength. The development of the commons, the formation of a middle class, which stood between the nobility and the serfs, naturally led men to insist upon the consecration of the rights which they had acquired. The *third estate*, which had grown powerful in the states general, protested, under the guidance of Stephen Marcel, provost of the merchants, against the increase of taxes and the arbitrary exercise of power, and without considering the dangers by which the state was menaced from without, endeavored to get possession of the government. A powerful party manifested the intention of raising to the throne the king of Navarre, representative of the female branch of the Capets. At the same time, in the lower ranks of society, the enfranchisement of the serfs, a work which had been slowly begun, was changed, all of a sudden, in the hands of the jacquerie (peasantry), into a territorial revolt against the whole social order (1358). Edward pounced upon a prey which all these divisions seemed to throw into his hands: but the cold and skilful policy of the dauphin had already triumphed over internal disorders. The *jacques*, who had ravaged several provinces with fire and sword, had been pursued like wild beasts and slaughtered on all sides. Marcel, after having proclaimed Charles king of France, and put to

death several of the dauphin's most faithful servants, had been killed by the alderman Maillard, just as he was upon the point of delivering up Paris to the English. The dauphin was recalled by the people of Paris, and meeting Edward with a resistance for which he was wholly unprepared, decided him to accept the *treaty of Bretigny* (1360), which restored the king to liberty, by the cession of all the provinces of ancient Aquitania and several other lordships.

France gained nothing by the king's deliverance. Ravaged by the soldiers of both parties, who finding themselves out of employment, overran and desolated the provinces under the names of *routiers* (*men of the road*) and *great companies*, she saw John return to England to take the place of one of his sons, who had been left as a hostage and had fled. The king died soon after this magnanimous act of good faith, leaving the throne to a son who repaired all the faults and all the misfortunes of his reign.

281. *Reign of Charles V. the Wise.*—Scarcely was John dead in captivity (1364), when the valor of a hero, the Briton *du Guesclin*, punished Charles the Bad, who was defeated at Cocherel and compelled to abandon all his pretensions. A prisoner in the battle of *Auray*, which was followed by the treaty of *Guerande* (1365), du Guesclin recovered his liberty to free the kingdom from the great companies, which he led to Spain, where, in spite of all the efforts of the prince of Castile, he dethroned Peter the Cruel in favor of Henry of Transtamare (v. ch. xviii.). Soon *Charles V.*, declaring himself protector of the southern provinces, oppressed by Edward's son, called England to account for the long success of her arms. The duke of Anjou, one of the king's brothers, retook the greater part of Aquitania. At the same time, the duke of Burgundy, Philip the Bold, faithful to the prudent tactics which the king had prescribed, held in check the English general, Robert Knoll, who burnt even the villages

in the neighborhood of Paris, without being able to force his adversary to a battle, till the valiant du Guesclin, who had been named constable of the French armies, compelled him to a precipitate retreat. While the Castilian marine destroys the English fleet before Rochelle (1372), du Guesclin invades Poitou, and drives beyond sea the protegee of the English, the duke of Montfort, whom the death of his rival, Charles of Blois, had left sole master of Brittany. All the conquests of France are confirmed by the treaty of Bruges, a worthy reparation for the treaty of Bretigny. Edward III., governed in his old age by unworthy courtiers, ends in the midst of reverses a reign which had begun with so much splendor (1377).

282. *Internal history of England under Edward III.*—

This epoch of English history is memorable in several respects. At the moment in which the generous but ill-regulated efforts of the states of France had vainly attempted the conquest of their national liberties, the English constitution had obtained a regular development, in spite of the despotic pretensions of Edward III. Parliament had been distinctly divided into two houses, and enforced the recognition of the three essential principles of the English government: the illegality of taxes levied without the consent of the commons, the necessity of the concurrence of the two houses to change a law, and finally, the right of the commons to inquire into abuses and impeach ministers. The *good parliament*, which assembled the fiftieth year of Edward III.'s reign, solemnly consecrated this triple and important prerogative (1376).

283. *Political and religious troubles under Richard II. and Henry IV.*—The popular movement continued with still greater violence under the young *Richard II.* (1377–1399), the feeble successor of the powerful and energetic Edward III. While the king of France and his valiant constable, profiting by the diversion effected by *Robert Stuart*, who had

become king of Scotland (1371–1390), were wresting from the English their last possessions in Normandy, Aquitania, and Picardy, the serfs of England were demanding, sword in hand, the abolition of slavery, and Great Britain also had her *jacquerie*. “A foolish priest of Kent,” says Froissart, “had preached to the peasants, that at the beginning of the world there were no slaves, and that consequently nobody could be reduced to slavery, unless he had betrayed his lord as Lucifer had betrayed God.” The reclamations of the insurgents were answered by massacres. Religious troubles soon followed. Wickliffe (towards 1378) taught new doctrines concerning ecclesiastical power, the rights of the church, the monks and friars, and various other claims and institutions of the church of Rome. This was the celebrated sect of the Lollards, which the clergy sought in vain to suppress, and which, transplanted into Bohemia, gave the first signal of the great and glorious reformation of the sixteenth century.

Richard, stripped of nearly all his continental possessions, had just obtained peace by marrying Isabella of France, and giving up the ports of Cherbourg and Brest, when the general discontent, fomented by *Henry IV.* of Lancaster, overthrew the unfortunate prince, who was put to death secretly and replaced by his assassin (1400). The continual insurrections of the lords, who in Northumberland and Wales fought, as they said, “to sustain the just cause of King Richard, if he was still alive, to avenge him, if he was dead,” and the bloody persecution of the Lollards, filled the greater part of Henry’s reign. But France was no longer in a condition to profit by the dissensions of her rival.

284. *Charles VI.—His derangement.—Period of disasters and anarchy.*—The last year of the reign of Charles V. had been troubled by the insurrections of Languedoc, Flanders, and Brittany. At the accession of the young *Charles*



VI. (1380), his uncles, the dukes of Anjou, Berry, and Burgundy, contended for the regency, and plundered the treasure which had been collected by the wise economy of Charles V. The revolt of the *Maillotins*, excited at Paris by the increase of taxes and the vexatious government of the king's uncles, and the insurrection of the *Tuchins* (peasants) against the oppression of the lords, were the sad preludes of the most fatal epoch of French history. It was in vain that an expedition against the Flemmings, marked by the victory of *Rosebeke* (1382), and the happy reforms begun by Charles VI. on coming of age, excited the hope of a government both energetic and prudent; for the derangement of the king soon became for France a source of incalculable misfortunes (1392).

The power was disputed by the queen Isabeau of Bavaria, and the dukes of Orleans, of Berry, and of Burgundy. After the death of this last, the duke of Orleans was assassinated by the attendants of the new duke of Burgundy, *John the Fearless*, and this crime was the signal of the bitter contest of the *Burgundians* and *Armagnacs*, who took their name from the powerful count of Armagnac, father-in-law of the young duke of Orleans, and who put himself at the head of his party. The Burgundians, who had made themselves odious by the excesses of the *Cabochiens*, a military formed of the dregs of the people, were driven from Paris by the Armagnacs, supported by the queen and the princes. The states-general, which were assembled in 1413, and the dauphin, who was charged with the administration, vainly strove to remedy so many evils. France was a prey to a frightful anarchy when the new king of England, *Henry V.* (1413–1422), demanded the execution of the treaty of Bretigny, and invaded Normandy at the head of fifty thousand men. Compelled to retreat, he was already within reach of Calais when the French army overtook him, forced him to give battle, and was exterminated in the plains of *Agincourt* (1415). Neither the dis-

asters of this day, not less fatal than Crecy and Poitiers, nor the constantly increasing danger of the country, could allay the fury of faction. The *Armagnacs*, masters of Paris, were massacred by the people, stirred up by the executioner Capeluche, while Henry V. was making the conquest of Normandy. The duke of Burgundy, whose triumph seemed sure, was assassinated at *Montereau* by the attendants of the dauphin (1419), at the moment in which the two parties, alarmed at the success of the English, were upon the point of uniting against them. Philip his son avenged him by a new treason, giving up France to Henry V. by the *treaty of Troyes*. Parliament confirmed the treaty, and gave the king of England the daughter of Charles VI. in marriage, with the title of regent, and heir of the crown (1420). *Charles* the dauphin sought an asylum in the southern provinces.

285. *Charles VII.—Expulsion of the English.*—Two years afterwards, at the death of Henry V. and Charles VI., the young *Henry VI.* of England united the two crowns (1422–1461). The dauphin, a wanderer on the banks of the Loire, and simple *king of Bourges*, strove to forget himself in amusement, and *lose his inheritance gayly*. The English, victorious at Crevant (1423), and at Verneuil (1424), laid siege to Orleans, where the dauphin had shut himself up with Dunois, Xaintrailles, La Hire, and several other valiant knights.

At this moment, when the city was hard pressed, and on the point of surrendering, *Joan of Arc*, a humble peasant girl, appeared before the king, declaring that she had received a mission from heaven to deliver France; and then attacking the English, liberated in ten days that last bulwark of the French monarchy. Charles was crowned at Rheims (1429), to which the Maid of Orleans had opened her way by the victory of *Patay*. A sudden enthusiasm seemed to have inspired the whole army, and extended to the people.

To check it the regent had Henry VI. crowned at Paris with great pomp (1431). Joan of Arc too was wounded at the siege of Paris, and fell at Compiègne into the hands of the English, who covered themselves with eternal infamy by condemning her to an ignominious death. But it was all in vain. The tide of conquest had turned. The duke of Burgundy united himself, by the treaty of Arras, to the cause of France (1435). Paris opened her gates (1436). The generals of Charles VII., Dunois, La Hire, Xantrilles, re-enter the provinces one by one, driving the English armies before them, in spite of the internal dissensions and the disorders of the *Praguerie*, fomented by the son of the king. The war which had been suspended for a moment by a treaty which sanctioned the marriage of Henry VI. with a French princess, *Margaret* of Anjou (1445), soon began again, and stripped the English of the remainder of their possessions on the continent. In 1453, they had nothing left but Calais, and Henry VI., who had thus lost one of his crowns, was to be deprived of the other by a long and bloody war against a prince of his own family. (V. Mod. Hist.)

A new era began for France. Victorious in a contest which had so often menaced her existence, she was now to resume her place at the head of the nations of the continent, and complete the internal work of organization.

Charles VII. profited by the weakness of the nobility, whose ranks had been thinned by all those civil and foreign wars, in order to gain new guarantees to the royal power. The establishment of a standing army (1445), and a tax for paying it, freed the throne from the dangerous and precarious succor of feudal troops; and it is with this that the truly monarchical period of French history begins.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### HISTORY OF THE SCLAVONIC AND SCANDINAVIAN STATES FROM THEIR ORIGIN TO THE MIDDLE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

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#### SUMMARY.

§ I. Foundation of Kiev and Novogorod by the Russians.—The Tcheques or Bohemians.—Premislas their first duke.—The Polemians or Poles.—Cracus founds Cracow.—The Obotrites.—The Khazar Turks.—The Hungarians.—Their conversion under Valc or St. Stephen.

§ II. Arrival of Rurick in Russia.—He subdues the Sclavonic population.—Religion of the Russians.—Their conversion under Vlademir.—Introduction of the Greek church into Russia.—Influence of this event.—Jaroselaf gives laws to the Russians.—System of appanage.—Parcelling out of Russia.—Attempt at federation under Vlademir II.—Invasion of the Moguls, who subdue Russia.—First efforts of Russia to recover her independence.—Foundation of the Russian monarchy by Ivan I.

§ III. Piast first king of Poland.—Conversion of the Poles.—Contest with Russia.—Influence of the popes in Poland.—Boleslaus III. the Victorious.—Contest with the Prussians.—The Brethren of the militia of Christ and the Teutonic knights.—Troubles in Poland.—Ravages of the Moguls.—Contest of Poland against the Teutonic knights and the Lithuanians.—Casimir the Great.—Accession of the Jagellons.—Reunion of Lithuania.—Battle of Tanneberg, and peace of Thorn with the knights.—Vladislas king of Poland and Hungary.—Preponderance of Poland.—Progress of the power of the nobility.

§ IV. Origin of the Scandinavian states.—Harold of the Blue Tooth, king of Denmark.—Conversion of the Danes.—Sweno and Canute the

Great, kings of Denmark, Norway, and England.—Division of the three kingdoms.—Crusade against the pagans of the North.—Vladimir the Victorious unites Norway and Denmark.—New division.—Greatness of Denmark under Valdemar IV.

§ V. Conversion of Sweden.—Triple cause of division in Sweden ; in the government, the population, and the religion.—Of the royal and the popular power.—Glorious reign of Magnus Ladulas.—Progress of the power of the nobility.—Margaret of Denmark.—Battle of Falköping.—Union of Calmar.—Causes of its early dissolution.—Remains only under Eric the Pomeranian, and Christopher the Bavarian.—Rupture of the union.—Christian king of Denmark and Norway.—Charles Canutson king of Sweden.

## § I.

### ORIGIN OF THE SCLAVONIAN STATES.

286. *Origin of the Russians—Of the Bohemians.*—We have mentioned the three great families which originally divided the race of the Slavonians (v. ch. i. § 11), and which probably lived in tribes till the migrations of the Huns compelled them to unite in warlike confederations in order to resist the common enemy. But the origin of this people is wrapt in profound obscurity, and their history begins only in the fifth century. A tribe composed of Russians and Alans founded Kiev on the Borysthene; and soon after Novogorod, which soon became a powerful and celebrated city. But this rising state was not yet Russia, which was not formed till three centuries later.

The origin of Bohemia and Poland may be referred to the middle of the sixth century. Towards 550, a tribe of Slavonians called *Tcheques*, drove the Marcomanni from the country of the ancient Boii and formed several independent republics, among which was that of Prague. Subdued by the Avars, they were soon after (about 626) delivered by a Frank merchant called Samo, whom they put at their head.

They took the name of Bohemians from the country in which they lived (*Bosðhemem*), and chose a single leader with the title of duke. *Premislas* (about 700) is considered as the first of these dukes. They soon became redoubtable to the empire of the East, and the countries of the West. Charlemagne having conquered the Avars, compelled the Bohemians themselves to acknowledge his supremacy, and extended his empire over the powerful nation of the Obotrites. The contest was renewed with various success, under Lewis the Germanic and his sons; and the emperors of Germany were often exposed to the attacks of the Slavonians till Otho the Great, having conquered Bolislas I., compelled the Bohemians to acknowledge the suzerainty of the empire (950). The Bohemians embraced the Christian religion; and it was from Prague that, a few years later, St. Adelbert set forth to the spiritual conquest of Poland.

287. *Polenians or Poles.—Obotrites.*—The Polenians or Poles had established themselves, at the same time with the Bohemians, between the Oder and Vistula. They divided their conquest into twelve provinces, or potentates. But soon weary of the divisions of their chiefs, they gave the crown to one of their principal warriors, *Cracus*, who founded Cracow, the royal residence of the Poles (towards 600).

The Obotrites, freed from the imperial dominion under the sons of Charlemagne, were united into a nation by one of their chiefs, Gotskalker, and formed the kingdom of the Venedi. But irritated by the efforts of their prince to subject them to the Catholic faith, they broke violently asunder in 1066, massacred the priests and recovered their independence, or rather their political and religious anarchy. On the ruins of the kingdom of the Venedi, rose the three states of Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and Pomerelia. The two last were converted by bishop Otho of Brandenburg, who had been sent to them by Boleslas, king of Poland. Mecklenburg

alone repelled the new religion, and it took waves of blood to force them to receive baptism.

288. *The Khazar Turks.—The Hungarians.—The Ants.*—In Eastern Europe, Asiatic populations came and mingled with the Sclavonic nations. The *Khazar Turks* founded in remote times, a powerful dominion between the Caspian and Black seas, and rendered themselves redoubtable to the emperors of Constantinople. About three centuries after the first appearance of the Russians, the *Ougres Madyars*, natives of Turkishtan, appeared on the borders of the Danube; and the neighboring people gave them the name of Hungarians (strangers). It was a wandering tribe, which only settled down after having terrified all Europe by its devastations. Repelled by the Russians, they invaded Silesia and Bohemia several times, and penetrated into Italy and Burgundy. It was only by the victorious arms of Otho the Great, that they were compelled to cease from their incursions. Christianity did still more than force. Their chief, Geisa (961–997), and his son Valt, who received at his baptism the Christian name of *Stephen*, softened the fierce and turbulent nature of these barbarians by propagating Christianity. Stephen received from pope Sylvester II. the apostolic crown; and from Henry II. of Germany the title of king (1000), with the hand of Gisela, the emperor's sister.

The family of the *Ants* had separated from the other Sclavonic nations; and after having been subjected, like the Tcheques, to the yoke of the Avars, they descended towards the south, and in 626 obtained from the emperor Heraclius permission to establish themselves in Illyria, on the coast of the Adriatic, where they founded several principalities. This was the origin of the bannats of Croatia, Dalmatia, Esclavonia, Bosnia, and Servia.

Such was the origin of the principal Sclavonian states.

We will now follow, in their progressive developments, those which played an important part during the middle ages.

## § II.

### RUSSIA.

289. *Establishment of Ruric in Russia.*—The people who had founded Kiev and Novogorod in what is now Russia, did not remain masters of them long. Towards 862, three brothers from Sweden established themselves near Lake Ilmen, where they were received as friends, and allowed to build cities. But one of them, Ruric, heir of the domains of his two brothers, had himself proclaimed Great Prince at Novogorod, in spite of the resistance of the old inhabitants. These were soon after mingled with the new comers, and the Russian language replaced the Sclavonian. At the same time, two Russians, who had been sent from Novogorod to Constantinople, made themselves masters of the city of Kiev, which they took from the Khazar Turks (863). After the death of Ruric, and during the reign of his son *Igor*, this new principality was united with that of Novogorod (879–945). Under this prince the new state, though scarcely organized, marked its first entrance among the nations by a bold enterprise. The Russians descended the Borysthenes, and appeared before Constantinople with two thousands barks, transporting their fleet on wheels across the isthmus, which separates the Propontis from the Euxine. The emperor Leo the Philosopher sued for peace, and the Christians paid tribute to the barbarians of the North (911). However, the Sclavonians, tired of a foreign dominion, revolted and assassinated Igor. But five thousand of them atoned with their lives for the murder of their prince, and the yoke fell on them anew.



290. *Religion of the Russians.—Their conversion under Vladimir.*—The Russians, thenceforth masters of the country, lived in profound barbarism, abandoning themselves to sombre and cruel superstitions. At the feet of the god *Peroun*, creator of the thunderbolt, there was a constantly burning pile into which animals and prisoners were thrown, and where even mothers came to cast in their children as a welcome offering. Queen *Olga* (945–970), *the wisest of women*, say the Russian annals, was struck with horror at this bloody religion, and embraced Christianity. Her grandson, *Vladimir*, who secured the throne after a civil war of seven years against his brother *Jarapolk* (974–980), received the ambassadors of three people who wished to convert the Russians. The Bulgarians offered Mahometanism; the Jews, their worship, without an altar or a home; and the Greeks, Christianity. Ten men of character and experience were chosen to examine the three religions, and came back to say to Vladimir: “After having seen the Greek religion, we can no longer adore our ancient gods, as a man rejects bitter food after he has tasted of sweet.” Immediately, Vladimir asked to be baptized, destroyed the old temples, had the statue of the god *Peroun* tied to a horse’s tail, and torn to pieces, and commanded all his subjects to follow his example under penalty of being treated as rebels (988). They were all assembled on the banks of the Dnieper to receive baptism, and entered the water to their waists, while from both banks the Christian priests recited the prayers of the church. Vladimir founded a school, to spread knowledge and religion together. But he was compelled to employ violence in order to induce mothers to send their children, writing being looked upon by the Russians as one of the most dangerous forms of witchcraft.

291. *Jaroslav gives laws to Russia.*—According to the ancient custom of the country, the inheritance of Vladimir

was divided by his sons into several appanages, very nearly independent of each other, and which changed the monarchy into a kind of irregular federation under the nominal supremacy of the great prince. After long disputes, *Jaroslaf* (1018-1054) succeeded in reuniting the different states, and reigned with glory over all Russia (1036). The Great Prince published a code known under the name of *Russian truths*, which divided the nation into three classes, the nobles or boyards, the people, and the slaves. For the right of vengeance, which perpetuated hostilities between families, he substituted the system of composition, which was in use among the Germans, and endeavored to fix the great principles of government. At the same time, Russia began to open other relations, besides those of war and pillage, with the rest of Europe. Vladimir had married a Greek princess. Jaroslaf had Greek authors translated, and multiplied his relations with the neighboring people. One of his daughters married Henry I. of France; the other two married Harold, king of Norway, and Andrew, king of Hungary.

But this first budding of civilization was quickly checked, and the influence of Christianity, which was so powerful in the rest of Europe, was hardly felt in Russia. The Greek schism had separated her from the rest of Christendom, which was subject to the influence of the Holy See. The nomination of the monk Hilarion, as metropolitan of Russia, was the signal for the concentration of the ecclesiastical authority in the hands of the Great Prince, and the church became a blind instrument of arbitrary power.

292. *System of Appanages.—Divisions.—Troubles.—Invasion of the Moguls.*—The fatal system of appanages, which contained the same germs of division with feudality, without the counterbalancing of any principle of hierarchical subordination, divided into five states the vast domains of Jaroslaf, from the borders of the Pruth to those of lake

Ladoga and Onega ; from the shores of the gulf of Finland to the source of the Volga.

Jaroslaf had exhorted his sons to observe justice, and cherish harmony ; but no sooner was he dead (1054), than the rivalries of the brothers broke out, and all Russia became a prey to frightful confusion. We shall not attempt to trace the monotonous history of wars, treasons, cruel vengeance, and bitter retaliation, which fill this period. For a moment, the princes seemed to have grown tired of this confusion, and attempted to put an end to it. They met at Lioubetch (1097), at the call of *Sviatopolk II.*, gave the kiss of peace, and swore to respect each other's rights. Three great victories over the barbarians of the north of Asia were the fruits of this union (1113). *Vladimir II.*, *Sviatopolk's* successor (1113-1152), received from the emperor Alexis Comnenes a golden cap, the ensign of supreme power, and which is still preserved for the coronation of the sovereign. But the assembly of Lioubetch had exaggerated the fatal right of appanages, by deciding that the states of each prince should be indefinitely divided between all his children. Thus, after the death of Vladimir, anarchy resumed her work of destruction. Ten Great Princes succeeded one another in a few years (1125-1164), and Russia was consuming her strength in internal quarrels, at the moment when a terrible scourge fell upon her. In 1223, a swarm of Moguls, detached from the great army of Genghis Khan, precipitated itself upon Russia, crushed her troops, and returned to Asia laden with plunder. Soon a new army appeared under the orders of the ferocious Bati, *whose cruelties*, says a Russian writer, *made the survivors envy the repose of the dead.* The Tartar, after having successively subdued Hungary, Moldavia, and Walachia, and killed in battle the Great Prince *Iouri* (1238), compelled his successor to go and swear fealty and homage to the Khan of the Moguls on the banks of the

river Amour, and established near the Volga the famous *Golden Horde* which, for more than a century, continued to dispose of the lives and dignity of the Great Princes.

293. *Foundation of the Russian Monarchy by Ivan I.*—The foundation of the Russian monarchy is attributed to *Ivan I.*, who transferred the seat of his power to Moscow (1328), and subjected the greater part of the other princes to his supremacy. But he could not escape the ravages of the Lithuanians, and the still powerful suzerainty of the *Golden Horde*. The end of the fourteenth century saw the first successful effort of Russia for the recovery of her independence, and a brilliant victory of the Great Prince *Dmitri I.* over the chief of the great horde (1380), seemed to presage the end of this long dominion. But soon the burning of Moscow by the Moguls (1382), and the massacre of twenty-four thousand Russians, who were slaughtered on the fallen ramparts, proved that the hour of deliverance was not yet come.

### § III.

#### POLAND.

294. *Piast I. king of the Poles.—Their conversion.*—Poland, separated by Russia herself from the Asiatic populations nearest to the West, had received during this period a more regular development. After the death of Cracus, the Poles, agitated by internal discord, renounced the government of their dukes to choose a king. A simple husbandman, *Piast* (towards 842), won the throne by his virtues. Poland was happy under his reign. Commerce and agriculture flourished in a country, till then, uncultivated and barbarous. Under the fourth descendant of *Piast*, Christianity

began to exercise its civilizing influence. It was to a woman that Poland, like the greater part of the other barbarous nations, owed this benefit (965). *Miecislav I.* had married the daughter of Boleslas I. duke of Bohemia. This princess, who had been brought up a Christian, converted her husband. The Bohemian saint, Adalbert, was called to preach the gospel in Poland; and the Poles passing suddenly from paganism to the most fervent piety, added new rigors to ecclesiastical discipline. He who broke the law of abstinence, was to be punished with the loss of his teeth. *Miecislav*, full of gratitude towards Germany, from whence he had received Christianity, consented to do homage to the emperor Otho II. (978). The Poles still remember *Boleslas I.* son of *Miecislav* (992–1025), who established the custom long respected in Poland, of singing religious hymns while marching against the enemy.

295. *Wars against the Russians, Prussians, and Moguls.* —*Boleslas II.* (1058–1081) took advantage of the weakness and anarchy of Russia to extend his own dominion, and proud of his success, shook off the imperial suzerainty (1077); but his misconduct made him hated and despised at the close of his life. Gregory VII. excommunicated him (1080), laid his kingdom under interdict and suppressed the title of king of Poland. *Boleslas* was compelled to yield to the haughty pontiff (1081), and went to die, it is said, in a convent of Croatia.

The twelfth century was for Poland an epoch of perpetual wars against the surrounding nations, Russians, Prussians, Pomeranians, and Hungarians. *Boleslas III. the Victorious* (1102–1138), after forty-seven battles, compelled the princes of Pomerania to recognize the suzerainty of Poland (1124), and permit the introduction of Christianity into their states; but at his death, the division of his kingdom into four independent principalities, put an end to the progress of its

power. The Prussians, a barbarous and pagan people formed of a mixture of Russians and Sclavonians, took advantage of the weakness of their neighbors to invade their territory and begin a desperate contest which was to last more than a century. Their ravages were only checked by the arms of the *Brethren of the soldiers of Christ*, or *knights bearers of the sword* of Livonia, who, united with the *Teutonic knights* (about 1226), began a crusade against these infidels, and towards the end of the fifteenth century compelled them to receive baptism.

A last and more terrible invasion was that of the Moguls, who appeared under the reign of *Boleslas V.* (1227-1279). The Polish army was defeated, Cracow burnt, and the king compelled to fly into Moravia (1242). Famine drove the Moguls from a country which they had devastated; and they fell upon the Hungarians, whom a common origin could not save from these ferocious invaders. Boleslas V. only returned to Poland to flee again before the invasion; and his successor, *Lesko the Black*, died of grief at the sight of the disasters of his country (1299).

296. *Contest against the Teutonic Knights and the Lithuanians.*—*Casimir the Great.*—Poland only escaped this danger to fall back into anarchy. While the Teutonic knights, who had become the enemies of the people for whom they had fought so long, threatened the frontiers on the south at the same time that the savage Lithuanians invaded those on the north, Poland, convulsed by the ambitious contests of the nobles, was reduced to give her crown to a foreign king, *Vladislas* of Bohemia (1300). It required the intervention of the pope to check the Teutonic knights, and restore national princes to Poland. At length she rose again under *Casimir the Great*, the last descendant of the race of Piast (1333-1370), who, with the mediation of the pope and king of Hungary, made peace with Bohemia and the Teutonic

order (1385), conquered the Russians, and took several provinces from the Lithuanians. A skilful politician as well as a victorious warrior, he was the first to give written laws to his people (1347). He set bounds to the absolute authority of the king, by increasing the power of the nobles, and enriched the people by the development of commerce.

After the death of Casimir, and the agitated reign of *Lewis the Great* (1370-1382), already king of Hungary, the elevation of the Lithuanian family of Jagellons to the throne of Poland put an end to the long rivalry of the two nations, and made them more formidable than ever to their common enemies, the Teutonic knights and the Russians.

297. *Power of Poland under the Jagellons.*—Jagellon was baptized, and took the name of *Vladislas II.* (1386). Christianity was proclaimed as the religion of Lithuania, and the idol Peroun fell before the cross. Several victories over the Tartar Khans were the first fruits of the union of the two people (1397). Meanwhile the Teutonic order also had been growing in strength. It had obtained the cession of the island of Gothland, and the Lithuanian province of Samogitia. Fifty-five walled cities, and forty-eight castles, defended a vast territory peopled by two millions of inhabitants. Yet Vladislas Jagellon invaded it, and won the great victory of *Tanneberg* (1410), in which nearly forty thousand soldiers, with six hundred knights, and the great master of the order, were killed. This battle, and the peace of *Thorn*, which confirmed its results (1411), may be considered as the first symptoms of the decay of the Teutonic order, which was soon compelled to give up several cities to its enemies, who had received a new increase of strength by the accession of their king *Vladislas III.* (1434-1444) to the throne of Hungary (1440). Unfortunately, the development of the Polish power was fettered by the vices of the constitution. The royal authority had already suffered from the encroachments of

the nobles, which had been injudiciously favored by the great Casimir. The monarchy had not yet become elective, and the race of the Jagellons preserved the throne by right of succession; yet every prince was obliged to receive, at his accession, the sanction of the nobles, who alone took part with him in the government. None but the nobles were represented in the diet, and received dignities and honors, leaving all the weight of taxation upon the peasants. The burgesses, the third estate, which was to become the strength of other nations, had no existence in Poland; and this was the real cause of her decay. But still she was to maintain for several years her rank of first power of the north.

#### § IV.

##### SCANDINAVIAN STATES.—DENMARK AND NORWAY.

298. *Origin of the Scandinavian States.—Their Union under Canute the Great.*—The origin of the Scandinavians is no less obscure than that of the Slavonians. The ancients had known them by their frequent migrations, which had procured those regions the appellation of *storehouse of nations*. It was by their invasions also that they were known in the middle ages. We have already spoken of the adventurous expeditions of those pirates, who, after having filled all western Europe with the fame of their devastations and exploits (v. ch. x. § i.), came to mingle with the population of France, England, and Italy. They who remained in their frozen country lived there obscurely, holding for a long while no relations with the rest of Europe.

The history of Denmark begins to acquire some certainty towards the period of the reign of *Harold of the Blue Tooth* (926–985), who, being defeated in a war against Otho the



Great, consented to become a Christian, and receive into his states the missionaries which were sent there by the archbishop of Hamburg (972). A few years afterwards, Christianity penetrated into Norway, under the reign of *Olaus I.* (995–1000) and *St. Olaus II.* (1014), who sent missionaries into Iceland, and even as far as the coasts of Greenland. Paganism, which was deeply rooted in Scandinavia, and fortified by ancient traditions and national poetry, triumphed again for a moment under *Sveno*, who conquered England, and subjected a part of Norway to his empire. But *Canute the Great*, who completed the conquest of Norway (1031), and united three crowns upon his head, labored diligently to re-establish Christianity in all his states.

299. *Division of the Empire of the North.—Crusade against the Pagans.*—After him (1036), the great empire of the north was divided. Norway passed from *Hardi Canute* to *Magnus the Good* (1036–1047), who, after the death of the sons of *Canute the Great*, made himself master of Denmark (1041). This kingdom recovered its independence under *Sveno Estrithson*, grandson of the conqueror of England (1047), who secured his throne by the aid of the emperor of Germany, while the king of Norway, *Harold IV.*, lost his life in fighting for the traitor Tostig (1066), in England (v. ch. x. § ii). After the death of Sveno begins a period filled with internal quarrels and obscure contests with Norwegian pirates or the pagans of Pomerania.

However, the great movement which at this period agitated Christian Europe, was felt even in those distant countries. *Erick I.*, of Denmark (1103,) and *Sigurd*, king of Norway, (1107), took the cross, and set out for Holy Land in their light barks, built rather to ascend rivers than face the dangers of a distant voyage. The surname of *Pilgrim to Jerusalem* rewarded the religious heroism of these princes. But the kings of the north had a crusade at their own doors,

less brilliant, it is true, but perhaps scarcely less glorious. While St. Bernard was preaching the second crusade against the East, the princes of Denmark undertook to convert or to exterminate the Vandals of Germany, who, inheriting the adventurous spirit of the old Normans, were paying back upon Scandinavia all the ills which she had inflicted upon Europe. The brave *Valdemar I.* (1157–1182), son of St. Canute, carried war into the very focus of northern paganism, the island of Rugen, where there was a monstrous idol, whose altar was constantly wet with Christian blood. Victorious over the Rugians (1168), he broke the idol in the presence of its worshippers, who renounced their errors at the sight. Valdemar, who was as wise as he was brave, was the first to give his people written laws, and compiled the laws of Slavia, of Zealand, and an ecclesiastical code. His son, *Canute IV.*, established the three orders of the lords (deans and bishops), of the nobles, and of the peasants, who were to compose the assembly of the States (1183–1158). He subdued also the princes of the Obotrites, and the duke of Pomerania (1187).

300. *Power of Denmark under Valdemar II. and Valdemar IV.*—*Valdemar II.*, the victorious, compelled Norway to acknowledge the supremacy of Denmark, and formed, with the consent of Frederic II., the kingdom of Vandalia out of his conquests in the north of Germany. But the captivity of this prince, who was imprisoned by a traitor, suddenly checked the progress of the Danish power. Norway regained her independence. Mecklenburg, Holstein, and the rich cities of Lubeck and Hamburg, which had recently been subjected, shook off the yoke, and when Valdemar recovered his liberty it was too late to repair these disasters.

At the same time Denmark had become the prey of internal factions, which were prolonged throughout a whole century, till *Valdemar IV. (III.)* (1340–1375), reducing to

obedience all the Danish provinces, which were divided between six independent princes, restored strength to the government by a severe and skilful policy, and enlarged his territory by the conquest of the islands of Aland, Gothland, and Holstein. This prince prepared the way for the glorious reign of his daughter Margaret—the last scion of the race of Odin—who, regent of Denmark (1387), queen of Norway by marriage (1388), and of Sweden by election (1389), united upon her brow the three crowns of the North.

### § V.

#### SWEDEN.—UNION OF CALMAR.

301. *Conversion of Sweden.*—*Of the royal and popular power.*—During the whole of this period, Sweden had been a prey to political and religious divisions. Pagan under the dominion of the *kings of Upsal*—descendants, it was said, of the famous pirate Lodbrok—she received Christianity under *Olof Skotkonung* (1001–1026), who was baptized by the English Sigefred, and was the first to take the title of king of Sweden. But the states prevented the king from imposing the new worship upon the Swedes, and the worship of Odin preserved its place at the side of that of Christ. There was also another cause of division. The south of the peninsula was occupied by Goths of German origin; the north by the Scandinavians. Each of these two races claimed the supremacy; and as they were equally powerful, the dispute was ended by a curious arrangement which called the princes of the two nations to the throne in succession.

Finally there was an antagonism in the government itself, between the royal and the popular sovereignty. Every year the peasants who were landlords met in a great assembly called

*Ting*, and elected a man from among themselves, who under the name of *Thorgny* was to watch over the execution of the laws. The power of this delegate of the nation was dreaded by the king and the nobles. Olof, the first Christian king, wishing to attack the king of Norway in spite of the people: "Your conduct is imprudent," said the *Thorgny*. "We peasants, wish you, king Olof, to make peace with the king of Norway. If you do not give heed to our words you will die by our hands; for we are not men to put up with an outrage. Such were our fathers, when they drowned five kings as proud as you. We wait your decision." A great tumult arose in the assembly, and the king declared that he was ready to accept the proposals that had been made to him. This fact explains the history of Sweden, where, through every vicissitude, liberty was maintained, because it was founded upon property. In our own days, the order of peasants sits in the diet with the other three; and this is, with the exception of France, the only country of Europe where those, who bear the heaviest share of the burden, have also the greatest share in elections.

302. *Increase and preponderance of the power of the nobility.*—Yet this excessive preponderance of the lower class did not last long. It was soon balanced and then overborne by the influence of the Christian clergy and the progress of the royal power, which surrounded itself with the prestige of glory and virtue under the reign of *St. Erick*—conqueror and apostle of Finland (1157), and legislator of his own country. After him, the rivalry of the two dynasties plunged Sweden into troubles of long duration, which, however, were calmed during the reigns of the valiant *Birger*, and of *Magnus I.* (1275–1290). This prince transferred the right of making laws from the people to the assembly of notables; forbade private wars during the session of the royal council, and at the same time, diffused such prosperity and abundance

through the country, that he received the name of *Ladulas*, or *lock of the peasants' granary*. Magnus had founded the power of the nobility, which became a *new cause of trouble* under his successors, while Sweden was waging a difficult contest with Denmark and Russia. After the deposition of *Magnus II.* and his son *Haquin*, who had united the crowns of Sweden and Norway, the nobles called a stranger to the throne, *Albert of Mecklenburg* (1363); who, however, was soon deposed in turn for attempting to throw off his dependence on the aristocracy. It was then that the Swedish senate offered the crown to Haquin's widow, *Margaret* of Denmark. This princess defeated Albert at Falkoeeping (1389), and immediately presented to the states of Sweden her great-grandson, *Erick the Pomeranian*, who was proclaimed her heir.

303. *Margaret the Great.—Union of Calmar.*—But the great result of this victory was the *Union of Calmar* (1397). The deputies of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway proclaimed, by a solemn act, that from that time for ever, the three states should have but one king, who should be elected by the concurrent voices of the senators and deputies of the three kingdoms; that the election should fall on one of the descendants of Erick; that the three kingdoms should aid each other with all their strength against foreign enemies; and that each should preserve its constitution, its senate, and its laws. Unhappily this union of all the Scandinavian races, though accepted with enthusiasm, had no solid basis to rest upon. A federative system could not be preserved long between three powerful monarchies, divided by their laws, their customs, old jealousies, and conflicting interests.

Yet during Margaret's reign national rivalries, yielding to the influence of her genius, respected the universal peace; and the prudence and courage of the great queen, won for her the surname of the *Semiramis of the North*. Stockholm,

which had remained faithful to the dethroned king, opened her gates at the news of the treaty of Calmar; and Albert's last refuge, the Island of Gothland, yielded to Margaret in 1408. Her reign lasted in full glory till 1412.

'304. *Dissolution of the union.*—But the work of this illustrious princess did not survive her long. It was in vain that *Erick the Pomeranian*, renewed the union of Calmar. He already perceived symptoms of dissolution, and merely aggravated them. A bloody war with the Hanseatic cities, and the commercial rivalry of England and Holland, exhausted his resources; while an equal distrust of all his subjects, and his refusal to reside either in Sweden or in Denmark, dissatisfied the whole union, each member of which deposed him in turn.

The Danes chose in his place, his nephew *Christopher the Bavarian* (1439), who was recognized by the Swedes in 1440 and by the Norwegians in 1442. After hesitating a long while, he transferred his residence to Copenhagen. The greater part of his reign was troubled by the piracies of Erick the Pomeranian, who landed several times in Sweden, destroyed the houses, and compelled the famished inhabitants to live on flour mingled with the pulverized bark of trees. Christopher, accused of all the misfortunes of his reign, and hated by his people who called him *the king of bark*, died of chagrin in 1448. After him, the union of Calmar was definitively dissolved. The Swedes chose for king *Charles Canutson*, high marshal of the kingdom; while the Danes and Norwegians, still faithful to their alliance, offered the crown to *Christian* (or *Christiern*) I., son of Thierry of Oldenburg, and a descendant by the female line of their ancient kings (1448).

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### SPAIN.—HISTORY OF THE ARABS AND THE CHRISTIAN KINGDOMS IN SPAIN TO THE ACCESSION OF HENRY IV. TO THE THRONE OF CASTILE.

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#### SUMMARY.

§ I. State of Spain at the Death of Sancho the Great.—Divisions.—Ferdinand of Castile.—Exploits of the Cid.—Invasion of the Almoravides.—Alphonso VI.—Henry of Burgundy in Portugal.—Alphonso the Disputations.—Reunion and New Division of Spain.—Invasion of the Almohads.—Their Progress in the South of Spain.—Foundation of the Religious and Military Orders.—Crusade preached by Innocent III. to succor Spain.—Great victory of the Christians at Tolosa.

§ II.—Fall of the Almohads.—St. Ferdinand.—Taking of Cordova.—Useless attempts upon Grenada.—Spain begins to take a part in European politics.—Alphonso the Wise aspires to the Imperial Crown.—Sancho the Brave.—Invasion of the Merinides.—Peter of Aragon in Sicily.—State of the Spanish Peninsula at the beginning of the fourteenth century.—The children of Lacerda kept from the throne of Castile.—Dissensions.—Alphonso II. Glorious reign.—Victory of Tariffa.—Peter the Cruel.—His tyranny.—Revolt and triumph of Henry of Transtamare.—Increase of the power of the nobles.—Firmness of Henry III.—Revolution in Grenada.—John II.—Power and fall of the favorite Alvar de Luna.—John II.—Accession of Henry IV.—Progress of Aragon during this period.

§ III. The Council of Twelve.—The Juntas.—The Cortes in Aragon.—The Nobles and Burgesses.—The Peasants.—Limits of the Royal Authority.—The Great Justiciary.—His Power.—Liberal character of

Castilian Institutions in their origin.—Influence of Communities.—The Power of the Nobility gradually acquires consistency and becomes preponderant.

§ IV. Conquest of Portugal by Henry of Burgundy.—Alphonso, King of Portugal.—Battle of Ourica.—Battle of Santarem.—Exploits against the Moors.—Dyonisius, Father of his Country.—Alphonso IV.—Murder of Intz of Castro.—Peter the Justiciary.—New Dynasty under John I.

§ V. Expedition of John I. into Africa.—Henry of Viseu begins maritime discoveries.—Discovery of Madeira.—Reverses in Africa under Edward.—Bull of Martin V.—Campaign of Africa.—Discovery of Cape Verd and the Azores.

## § I.

### WARS BETWEEN THE CHRISTIANS AND ARABS.

305. *State of Spain at the Death of Sancho the Great.*—*Division between his Sons.*—We have seen the first phase of the long and heroic struggle of Christian Spain against the Mahometan dominion. What all Europe was unable to do against the Mussulmen of Asia, the Spaniards alone accomplished against the Moorish race, constantly augmented by African tribes. Their crusade lasted eight hundred years, amid brilliant success, but sometimes also amid terrible reverses; and in spite of the internal dissensions which too often paralyzed their efforts, their arms never slackened till the day of triumph.

The divisions of the infidels hastened the triumph of the Christians. At the fall of the caliphate, when the Mussulman provinces were divided between nineteen sovereigns (v. ch. vii., 2d part), all Christian Spain, except the kingdom of Leon, was united under *Sancho the Great*, who at his death left his son three kingdoms (1035): to *Ferdinand I.*, Castile, to which the kingdoms of Leon and the Asturias were united;



to *Ramiro*, Aragon; to *Garcia*, Navarre and Biscay. Ferdinand of Castile waged war with the Arabs thirty years, conquered Lusitania, and subjected the kings of Toledo, Saragossa and Seville to tribute. But the glory of this prince was eclipsed by that of his intrepid companion, the *Cid Campeador* (Rodrigo Diaz of Bivar), the Spanish hero of the middle ages. Knighted by Ferdinand on his first field, the Cid had already received the homage of five infidel kings, when Spain was again divided by Ferdinand's death (1065).

306. *Exploits of the Cid and of Alphonso VI.—Invasion of the Almoravids.*—There can be but little doubt but what the Mussulman dominion in the peninsula would soon have ended but for the constant divisions of the Christian kingdoms, which, breaking the unity so essential in war, wasted in inglorious disputes and ill-concerted action, the energies which should have been united against the common enemy. *Sancho IV.*, son of *Garcias* of Navarre, carried on the war against the infidels, while the sons of Ferdinand, *Sancho* of Castile, *Alphonso* of Leon, and *Garcia* of Galicia, were contending for the inheritance of their father. After a long war *Alphonso VI.*, the survivor of the family of *Sancho* the Great, reunited once more all the Christian states. But the Cid had compelled him to swear at the foot of the altar that he was innocent of the death of his brother. *Alphonso* never forgave him; and *Rodrigo*, in disgrace at court, but powerful by his marriage with *Chimene*, went forth alone to fight the enemies of his country and his faith.

The contest began again with new vigor, new bands pouring in from Africa to fill up the thinned ranks of the infidels. *Alphonso* had just made himself master of the kingdom of Toledo (1081-1085), subjected the kings of Seville and Badajoz to tribute (1086), and acquired several important cities by his marriage with the Christian daughter of the king of Seville, when the invasion of the *Almoravids*, who

had been called from Africa by the Mussulman princes, compelled him to abandon a part of his conquests. Soon these terrible enemies, turning their arms against their own allies, built up a new dominion, not less formidable to the Christians than that which they had overthrown.

The *Cid* distinguished his last years by the conquest of Valencia, where he founded a principality, while the valiant Henry of Burgundy made himself master of Portugal (1005). But after the death of the *Cid*, Valencia fell under the yoke of the Almoravids, in spite of the obstinate defence of Chimene. The dangers thickened. A bull of Pascal I. (1105) forbade the Spaniards to go and fight in Palestine, and commanded all those who had taken the cross to turn their arms against the enemies of their own country. Yet they were conquered at Ucles, where the infante Don Sancho perished with a great number of his soldiers. Alphonso VI. could not survive his son. He left the throne of Castile to his daughter Urraca (1109), who married *Alphonso VII.*, already king of Arragon and Navarre; and then the Christian kingdoms were again united under the same ruler.

307. *Reunion of the Christian Kingdoms under Alphonso VII.—Invasion of the Almohads.*—Alphonso made himself the terror of the infidels by his victories, and won the name of the *Fighter*. But the jealousy of the queen and the pride of the Castilians excited new difficulties. The marriage which had united the Christian states was annulled, and the kingdom of Castile recovered its independence. A few years afterwards (1134), the defeat of *Fraga* led to the separation of Navarre and Aragon.

The Mussulmen had not been able to profit by these divisions, for they were still engaged in a war of extermination in the south of Spain. The Almohads, sectarians of an obscure fanatic, who pretended to punish the licentiousness of the Almoravids and introduce the reign of justice and virtue,

succeeded in rendering themselves masters of the northern coasts of Africa (towards 1120). Sustained by the warriors of the desert, they were victorious at Tlemcen, took Morocco after a horrible siege, in which two hundred thousand persons died of hunger, and annihilated in Africa the dominion of their rivals. At the same time the old Moorish population menaced in Spain all the Moravids, but not with the intention of submitting to a new yoke. The Almohads met a lively resistance on landing in Spain. Three Mussulman parties contended eagerly for the supremacy, and this bloody quarrel checked for twenty years the progress of the new invasion. Alphonso invaded Andalusia, received the homage of the new kings of Aragon and Navarre, and was crowned *Emperor* (1135).

308.—*Religious and Military Orders.—Crusade against the Moors.—Battle of Tolosa.*—Christian Spain prepared to renew the contest against the infidels with redoubled energy. The enthusiastic fanaticism of the African conquerors was met by the chivalric bravery of the religious and military orders of Alcantara (1156), of Calatrava (1158), and of St. James (1161), which were to renew in the West the exploits of the knights of the East. Still Alphonso VII. died without having gained any decided advantage over the Mussulmen (1157). It was only by an heroic effort (v. § iv.) that Portugal succeeded in repelling the invasion, and *Alphonso VIII.* lost the great battle of Alarcos, in which the Almohad Jacoub won the name of Al Manzor (1195). At the same time a crowd of African tribes flocked to Spain with the hope of dividing the Christian provinces as a sure spoil. The kings of Castile, Leon, and Navarre, instead of uniting against the enemy, abandoned themselves to fatal disputes. The voice of Innocent III. was raised in Europe to call Christians to the aid of their brethren in Spain. Sixty thousand crusaders of France, Germany, and Italy, joined the Spanish troops com-

manded by the grand masters of the military orders, the kings of Navarre, Aragon, and Castile. Near *Tolosa* they met the Emir Mohammed, who was clad all in black, with a sabre in one hand and the Koran in the other. A fearful contest ensued, but the Christians were victorious, and the conquered Mussulmen were driven from the field with great slaughter. More than a hundred thousand Arabs are said to have been killed (1212).

## § II.

### DECLINE AND DIVISION OF THE ARAB KINGDOMS.

309. *Fall of the Almohads.*—*Glorious reign of St. Ferdinand.*—The battle of Tolosa put a final check to the invasion, and proved a mortal blow to the power of the Almohads, which was soon annihilated in the midst of revolts. The Christian kings extended their empire, or at least their supremacy, rapidly over southern Spain. St. Ferdinand (1217–1252), who definitively united in 1230 the kingdoms of Castile and Leon, defeated the Mussulmen and laid siege to Cordova. The ancient capital of the Caliphate was taken by assault, and the cross raised with the royal banner upon the walls. They found there the bells of St. James of Compostella, which the Christians had been compelled to carry thither upon their shoulders. The shoulders of the Mussulmen carried them back. On his side, *James I.* or James the Conqueror, king of Aragon (1213–1276), crowned his numerous victories by the conquest of the kingdom of Valencia. The kingdom of Grenada alone preserved its ancient power. All St. Ferdinand's efforts to take Grenada were vain; he was compelled to yield to the indefatigable resistance of Alhamar. But this king of the Moors soon became the ally of his valiant

antagonist (1246), and aided him in taking Seville, the territory of which was the best cultivated of all Spain and known as the garden of Hercules (1248). St. Ferdinand fixed his residence there; and proving himself the worthy rival of his contemporary St. Louis, consecrated his last years to the framing of laws for his subjects. Time has swept his institutions away, but history has preserved this sublime saying of the holy king: "I fear the groans of a poor woman more than the armies of the Moors."

310. *Invasion of the Merinids repulsed by Sancho the Brave.—Peter III. of Aragon in Sicily.*—Henceforth the victory of Christian Spain was sure, and she could take a part in the affairs of Europe from which she had so long been kept aloof by her own dangers. In 1257, Germany offered the imperial crown to Alphonso the Wise (1252–1284), son of St. Ferdinand, and who like him had for an ally James the Conqueror, king of Aragon. Alphonso contended long for the crown with Richard of England and Rudolph of Hapsburg, and had the glory of stripping the Almohads of their last asylum, the province of Murcia (1263). Under the reign of his son, *Sancho the Brave* (1284–1295), Islamism made a final effort. A new invasion fell upon Spain, but it was also the last. The Merinids, of the race of Merin king of Fez, had made themselves masters of Morocco and put an end to the dynasty of the Almohads (1270). At the call of their brethren of Grenada, they crossed the straits and killed in battle the archbishop Don Sancho, son of James the Conqueror. His head was given as a trophy to the Merinids, and his right hand to the soldiers of Grenada. Sancho the Brave hastened to avenge him, and drove the Arabs back to Africa (1285). The ambition of Sancho, who aspired to the crown in spite of the rights of the children of his elder brother Ferdinand de la Cerda, caused a fruitless war between Castile and France; while the king of Aragon, Peter III. (1276–

1285), avoiding this useless contest, turned his views towards Sicily, which the Sicilian vespers threw into his hands (1282), and of which he retained possession in spite of all the efforts of Charles of Anjou. Still the Moors continued to maintain a position in the south of the peninsula, from which they were not finally driven till the whole of Christian Spain had been definitively united under one sceptre.

311. *State of Spain during the first half of the fourteenth century.*—*Alphonso XI.*—At the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Spanish peninsula still contained five distinct kingdoms—Navarre, Aragon, Castile, Portugal, and Grenada. Navarre, after having belonged to count *Thibault IV.* of Champagne (1234–1253), had fallen to the royal house of France by the marriage of Jane, granddaughter of Thibault, with Philip the Fair (1284). In 1328, this kingdom passed by another marriage to the house of Evreux, which gave it for king *Charles the Bad*, that perfidious enemy of France (1349–1386); and at last, by a new revolution, came in 1425 to *John II.* of Aragon, unnatural father of the unfortunate prince of Viane (v. *Mod. Hist.*).

While Aragon in 1300 was governed by *James II.* (1291–1327), who was forced to yield Sicily to his brother Frederic, the kingdom of Castile and Leon was a prey to factions and revolts under the minority of *Ferdinand IV.* (1295–1312). Meanwhile Portugal was flourishing by commerce and art under the long and peaceful reign of *Dionysius the Just* (1279–1325). Finally the fifth kingdom, that of the Moors of Grenada, troubled the Christians only at long intervals. Castile alone, while all the other states were enjoying the blessings of peace, was exhausted by the fatal discords which flowed from the usurpation of Sancho the Brave over the children of La Cerda. The reign of *Alphonso XI.* revived the glory of the Castilian name (1312–1350). After a stormy minority, Alphonso repressed the insubordination

of the nobles by terrible executions ; ended the dispute with the children of La Cerda by ceding to them the recently discovered Canaries ; and became the terror of the Mussulmen by the famous victory of *Tariffa* (1340), and the taking of the strong city of Algesiras (1344). He had already laid siege to Gibraltar, which the king of Grenada had seized in 1338 ; and was upon the point of taking it, when he was carried off by the plague. So great was the respect with which he had inspired his enemies that the king of Grenada, on hearing of his death, went into mourning (1350).

312. *Peter the Cruel overthrown by Henry of Transtamare.*—The tyranny of his son *Peter the Cruel* (1350–1369) renewed the troubles and sorrows of Castile. The first act of the new king was to deliver up to the vengeance of his mother the unfortunate Eleanor of Guzman, who had been secretly married to Alphonso and borne him ten children. His subsequent life was a tissue of perfidies and crimes. Violating the sanctity of marriage and of his oath, he rejected with scorn the queen Blanche of Bourbon for Maria Padilla, and threw her into prison to escape her reproaches. The punishment of the powerful lord *Albuquerque*, grand master of Calatrava, alarmed the nobles, who formed a league against him. But their useless attempt only called forth new cruelties. Peter had his brother Frederic killed in his presence, and dined the same day on the spot where the murder had been committed : he killed with his own hand Don Juan of Aragon, who had dared to proclaim the independence of Biscay, and threw him from a window into the square, crying out to the inhabitants of Bilboa : “ There is your lord ! ” Soon after he caused three princesses, relations of his victim, to be put to death. *Henry of Transtamare*, the eldest of Eleanor’s sons, tried to rouse Castile and punish these crimes. His first victory rekindled the rage of the

tyrant, who avenged himself by killing Henry's two youngest brothers.

But the day of deliverance was drawing nigh. Henry, who after several successes had been defeated and compelled to seek an asylum in France, returned to Spain with the great companies and du Guesclin at their head. The Castilians received him with transport, and proclaimed him king at Calahorra (1366). Peter fled in turn and asked an asylum and protection of the prince of Wales, whose valiant archers decided the success of the famous battle of Navarete, where du Guesclin was taken prisoner (1367). But Henry soon reappeared with new troops, and du Guesclin, who had recovered his liberty. This time the cowardly Peter implored the aid of the infidels; but they could not save him. The great army of the Moors was conquered near *Montiel*; and Peter, who was besieged in a neighboring castle, was compelled to surrender and brought to the tent of du Guesclin. Henry was there; and the two brothers, feeling all their hatred revive at the sight of each other, closed in a fatal strife, which ended with the death of Peter the Cruel. With him the legitimate branch of the royal family of Castile became extinct (1369). Henry of Transtamare succeeded him, and effaced the stain of his birth by the glory of his reign, which was passed in victorious wars against Portugal, Aragon, and Navarre (1369-1379.)

### 313. *Contest between Royalty and the Nobility in Castile.*—

Amid the civil troubles, the nobles had acquired a power and an ascendancy, which increased during the feeble reign of *John I.* (1379-1390), who allowed them to regulate the expenses of his household, and during the minority of *Henry III.* (1390-1406), while princes, nobles, and bishops, were contending for the guardianship. All the wealth was in the hands of the lords, and one day Henry was obliged to sell his cloak for food. This humiliation aroused his proud and haughty



soul. The next day he called together all the grandees of the court, and addressing each of them in turn, "How many kings have you known?" said he. Some answered three, some four, others five. "And I, who am the youngest of you all, have seen more than twenty. Yes," continued he, "you are all kings, to my shame and the ruin of the state. But your reign is over." And ordering them all to be thrown into prison he kept them there, till they had restored all the castles and estates which they had usurped from the royal domain. The Cortes united with the king to humble the nobility, and the punishment of a great number of rebels confirmed the royal authority.

But the minority of *John II.* (1406-1454) destroyed the work of Henry III. While the kingdom of Grenada was a prey to such vicissitudes that a king was condemned to death and reinstated upon the throne while a game of chess was playing, Castile, which was no less torn by dissensions, could nowhere find a moment of repose but under the pitiless despotism of the favorite *Alvar de Luna*, who, from the humblest condition, had risen by his energy and talent to the highest offices. But soon a league of the most powerful lords (1426), in which the kings of Aragon and Navarre and John's own son joined, seized the strongest cities of the kingdom, and demanded the minister's disgrace. Alvar maintained the contest for more than twenty years. Twice exiled by the king, he twice returned more terrible than ever. Finally, the nobility prevailed, and his head fell upon the scaffold (1453). The feeble king, who had sacrificed him, died the next year of grief (1454).

John II. was succeeded by *Henry IV.* (1454-1474), who, after having joined the factions against his father, tried in vain to shake off their control. This reign raised the anarchy and calamities of Spain to the highest pitch, and the last years of the middle ages saw the throne of Spain disgraced

by the weakness of the king, polluted by the licentiousness of the queen, and the royal authority annihilated, or rather concentrated in the hands of a few nobles who disposed at will of the crown (v. Mod. Hist.).

314. *Progress of the power of Aragon.*—While the kingdom of Castile was slowly working its way through this period of troubles and decay, Aragon, united and peaceful at home, was powerful and dreaded abroad. It had gained Sicily by the *Sicilian vespers* (1282); and *James II.* (1291–1327) had obtained a decree for the perpetual union of Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia. In 1326 he made himself master of the greater part of Sardinia. His grandson, *Peter the Ceremonious* (1336–1387), took the island of Majorca (1348), bore an active part in the war between Peter the Great and Henry of Transtamare, and consolidated the conquests of his successors in Sardinia by a treaty with Genoa. Finally, in 1442, *Alphonso V. the Magnanimous* (1416–1458) made the conquest of the kingdom of Naples. The brother of this prince, John II., king of Navarre, who after him inherited Aragon and Sicily, was the father of Ferdinand the Catholic; under whose sceptre the united kingdoms of Aragon, Castile, and Navarre, were to enter upon a brilliant career of prosperity and glory.

### § III.

#### POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS OF ARAGON AND CASTILE.

315. *Liberal institutions in Aragon and Castile.*—*The Cortes.*—The long and victorious efforts which secured the political and religious independence of Spain, could not but exercise a decided influence upon her internal constitution. The national feeling which was manifested by so many

triumphs against the stranger, produced also institutions, freer in their origin, than those of any other state of Europe.

The authority of the king of Aragon was limited; first by a council of twelve men, the oldest and wisest of the country; next by the provincial *juntas*; and finally by the *cortes*, or general assemblies of the three orders of the state, who from 1283 had the sole right of consenting to war and taxes. The nobility was divided into two classes; the *ricos hombres* (rich men), who received cities and districts in fief with the lower jurisdiction and the right of collecting taxes; and the inferior nobility, which comprised the *cavalleros* (knights) and the *hidalgos* (sons of Goths—nobles). The burgesses, proud of the wealth and power of the communities of which they formed the strength, hardly yielded to the nobles. In the last rank were the peasants, some of whom hired land to cultivate; while others, bound to the soil, lost their property by changing their residence. The king, the supreme chief of the nation, seemed by his oath of investment to hold of the *cortes* and the first magistrate of the kingdom, the *great justiciary*. "We who separately are as good as you"—said the deputies to a new prince—"and united much your betters, make you our king on condition that you will maintain our laws and privileges; if not, no." After this haughty formula the king took the oath on his knees before the great justiciary. This magistrate arbitrator of the disputes between the nobles and king enjoyed an influence which increased with time. In 1436, the inviolability of the great justiciary was extended even to the acts of his private life; and in 1442 his authority, which had been subject to revocation by the king, was declared permanent.

316. *The nobility obtain the preponderance.*—In Aragon the preponderance was constantly with the nobility. But in Castile popular liberty received, in the beginning, a fuller development. At the end of the thirteenth century, the commu-

nities formed against the nobility a confederation called the *brotherhood* (*hermandad*), redoubtable by its strength and unity. In the cortes, their deputies counterbalanced without difficulty the influence of the clergy and nobles. But Henry of Trans-tamare, who owed his triumph to the support of the nobility, lavished principalities and domains so profusely upon them, that they gave him the surname of *Magnificent*. They enriched themselves also with the spoils of the Jews, who under John I. lost the privileges which, as opulent usurers, they had bought of his predecessors. We have already seen how much authority they enjoyed under Henry III. The fall of Alvar de Luna crowned their triumph; and the equilibrium was not established till after the deplorable reign of Henry IV., who ends the long list of Castilian kings of the middle ages.

## § IV.

## KINGDOM OF PORTUGAL.

317. *Exploits of Henry of Burgundy, Alphonso I., and Sancho I.*—In the west of the Spanish peninsula, while the war with the Moors was at its height, a little Christian kingdom was gloriously formed at the expense of the enemies of the faith. While Alphonso VI. and the Cid were securing the triumph of Christian arms, *Henry of Burgundy*, great-grandson of Robert of France, engaged in the service of the king of Castile (1095–1112). After having fought bravely at the siege of Toledo, he distinguished himself by his deeds against the Saracens of Portugal; and was rewarded by Alphonso VI. with the hand of his daughter Theresa, and the grant of all the countries that he could conquer. In the year 1109, he received from his father-in-law the title of hereditary count of Portugal. Victorious in seventeen battles

against the Moors, he made himself master of the provinces between the Minho and Duero; and left to his son, *Alphonso the Conqueror* (1112), the care of completing the task which he had happily begun.

The young prince caused himself to be proclaimed king (1139); and adorned his new crown with the laurels of *Ourica*, where he exterminated the armies of five Moorish princes. The cortes of *Lamego* (1143) sanctioned the election of the conqueror, and regulated the order of succession. The pope supported him against the pretensions of the king of Leon, on condition of his declaring himself tributary of the Holy See. The provinces of *Beira* and *Estramadura* had submitted after the battle of *Ourica*. *Santarem* (1145), *Lisbon* (1147), *Evora*, *Badajoz* (1166–1168), opened their gates in succession. The foundation of the military order of *Evora*, which afterwards became celebrated under the name of the *order of Avis*, gave royalty valiant defenders. At the close of his long and glorious career, Alphonso saw the existence of his kingdom suddenly menaced by the terrible invasion of the Almohads. The battle of *Santarem*, in which the old king performed prodigies of valor, saved Portugal (1184).

Alphonso's successor, *Sancho I.* (1185–1211), added the province of *Alentejo* to the preceding conquests (1203). The *Algarves* were subdued under Alphonso III. (1248–1279), and Portugal reached the limits which she still preserves.

318. *Prosperity of Portugal under Dionysius.*—*Troubles after the murder of Ines de Castro.*—*Dionysius*, who was called the *father of his country* and the *working king* (1279–1325), encouraged agriculture by setting the example of industry; founded the university of *Lisbon*, which soon became eminent (1290); and left to his son *Alphonso IV. the Bold*. (1325–1357) a kingdom enriched by industry and commerce, and strengthened by wise institutions. But the assassination of the gentle *Ines de Castro* (1354), secretly married to the

king's son, and who was sacrificed to Alphonso's pride and the jealousy of the court, kindled a war between father and son, which lasted till the death of the former. *Peter I.* (1357–1367) avenged the death of Ines by having the hearts of her murderers torn out. He governed with a severity, which, though rigorous, was always equitable; and won for him the name of the *Justiciary*. After the reign of *Ferdinand I.*, filled with troubles and civil wars, the grandmaster of Avis—the last king's natural brother, and who was proclaimed *Protector of the kingdom* by the revolted Portuguese (1433)—ascended the throne of Portugal under the name of *John I.* (1385–1433), to the disadvantage of the children of Ines. He was the founder of a new family, whose doubtful rights he sanctioned by his expeditions against the Moors of Africa and John I. of Castile, who undertook to unite Portugal to his crown.

## § V.

### DISCOVERIES OF THE PORTUGUESE IN AFRICA.

319. *First discoveries of the Portuguese.*—*Henry of Viséu.*—The kingdom of Portugal, confined within narrow limits in Europe, was about to be enlarged by the conquests which it made beyond the seas during the troubles of Spain, whose supremacy it had energetically repelled. Under John I. began the adventurous expeditions and the discoveries of the Portuguese. The king of Portugal, victorious over the Castilians, set sail for Africa with his three oldest sons; and taking Ceuta in six days, conferred knighthood on his sons in the mosque which he had wrested from Islamism (1415). The infant don *Henry of Viséu*, one of the most learned men of his age, who invented the astrolabe and

perfected the compass, returned from this expedition with an ardent desire to know all of that Africa of which he had obtained but a glance. A naval school was formed for young gentlemen. All the preparations were rapidly completed; and towards 1417, Henry sent out two ships which advanced sixty leagues beyond Cape Non, which had, till then, been looked upon as an impassable barrier. In 1419, Madeira was discovered. A conflagration, which is said to have lasted several years, freed this island from the forests with which it was covered; and opened the way for the cultivation of the sugar cane and vine, which soon became an important branch of Portuguese commerce.

320. *Contests with the Moors of Africa.—New Discoveries.*—A war with the Moors of Africa suspended for a moment these useful expeditions. Henry and Ferdinand, who were sent across the strait by their brother *Edward*, successor of John I. (1433–1438), made an unsuccessful attempt upon Tangiers, and were taken prisoners. One of them died in captivity; the other was held as a hostage for the execution of the treaty. The Portuguese had promised to give up Ceuta, but they chose rather to let their prince die in a foreign land than abandon so important a position. They were upon the point too of repairing their losses. Prince Henry had formed the project of opening a way by sea round Africa. His plans were followed up by *Alphonso V., the African* (1438–1481), the greater part of whose reign belongs to modern history. Encouraged by a bull of Martin V. which granted to the Portuguese all the lands that they should discover as far as India, they doubled Cape Boiador, then Cape Blanc (1442). In 1444, a company was formed to hasten the progress of discovery. Soon the islands of Cape Verde and the Azores were reached. A new variety of the human race, the negro, so different from all the races hitherto known, met the eyes of the astonished navigators. They still conti-

nued to advance, and before the end of the century, and in spite of pusillanimous fears and jealous prejudices, Bartholomew Diaz, and then Vasco de Gama, completed the work which prince Henry had begun (v. Mod. Hist.).



## CHAPTER XIX.

### GREEKS AND TURKS.—STATE OF EUROPE AT THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

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#### SUMMARY.

FIRST PART.—§ I. Michael Paleologus.—State of the Empire.—Transient reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches.—The Catalonians at Constantinople under Andronicus II.—Revolt of these intrepid auxiliaries.—Religious disputes.—Usurpation of John Cateouzene ; contest with John Paleologus.—The Turks called to the aid of the two rivals.

§ II. Beginning of the power of the Ottoman Turks.—Osman.—Ourkhan.—His conquests in Europe.—Institutions of this Sultan.—The Janizaries.—Mourad or Amurath I.—New conquests.—Resistance of the Servians.—Bajazet I.—Humiliation of the empire.—Sigismund of Hungary calls the people of Europe to his aid.—Defeat of Nicopolis.—Bajazet disposes of the empire of the East.

§ III. *First exploits of Tamerlane or Timour-Lenk.—Ravages in Asia Minor.—Battle of Ancyra.—Defeat of Bajazet, who is made prisoner.—Death of Tamerlane, and rapid decay of his empire.—Enfeeblement of the Turks after the invasion of Tamerlane.—They recover their power under Mahomet I. and Amurath II.—Valiant resistance of John Hunnyades Corvinus.—Unfortunate expedition of Vladislav of Hungary.—Defeat of Varna.—First success of Scanderbeg.*

§ IV. Constantine XII. and Mahomet II.—Foolish divisions of the Greeks.—Constantine vainly demands succor of Europe.—*Siege of Constantinople.—Heroic resistance and death of the Emperor.—Taking of Constantinople, and end of the Empire of the East.*

SECOND PART.—State of the Ottoman power in Europe and Asia at

the moment of the taking of Constantinople.—Situation of the other Mussulman dominions in Asia, Africa, and Spain.—The Christian States in Europe at the same epoch.—States of the North.—France.—England and Scotland.—Germany and Switzerland.—Italy, Spain, and Portugal.—Principal events which mark the close of the middle ages.

## PART FIRST.

## § I.

## GREEK EMPIRE.

321. *Michael Paleologus*.—*Transient reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches*.—When *Michael Paleologus* expelled Baldwin II., he recovered only a very small portion of that Eastern empire which Theodosius had bequeathed to Arcadius (1261). Egypt and Syria obeyed the Mamelukes. In Asia Minor, the western coast was nearly all that the empire retained; the rest was divided between ten Seljuk principalities, tributaries of the Moguls. In Europe, all the provinces beyond Mount Hemus belonged to the Vallachians, the Bulgarians, and the Hungarians. For two centuries, the family of the Paleologi still continued to contend with the Turks for the shreds of the imperial dominion, inwardly torn by the dissensions of schismatic monks, and the mercantile speculations of the Venetians and Genoese.

The Greeks, who had lost all their ardor and energy, except for endless controversies, could no longer do any thing for the defence of the empire. When Michael Paleologus wrested Constantinople from the Latins, the Venetians were all powerful there; and the emperor, feeling that he was too weak to engage in a contest with the republic of Venice, sought to escape her control by raising her up a rival, and ceded the suburb of Pera to the Genoese. But

the empire, which had escaped from its masters, still had need of a protector. To interest the people of the West in its defence, Michael proposed to Gregory X. the reunion and reconciliation of the two churches (1263). He sent to the council of Lyons (1274) two prelates, distinguished for their learning and their virtue, who solemnly recognized the supremacy of the pope. But the greater part of the bishops of the East opposed his project with great vehemence. Troubles broke out in several cities. The patriarch anathematized the emperor, and gave him over to the devil. Michael, without troubling himself about these furious demonstrations, deposed the obstinate patriarch (1275), abjured the schism, and declared that the supremacy of Rome should be recognized every where. But no sooner was the name of the pope heard in the churches of Constantinople, than the people broke out in open revolt. In spite of all the efforts of Paleologus, the legates, who had been sent from Rome to receive the oath of all the priests of the empire, obtained only an obscure and ambiguous profession of faith. Martin IV., dissatisfied with this uncertain submission, excommunicated Michael and his adherents as impostors; and the emperor, in retaliation, had the pope's name suppressed in the public prayers (1281).

322. *The Catalonians at Constantinople under Andronicus II.*—The second Paleologus, *Andronicus II.* (1282–1328), broke definitely the transient agreement of the two churches; recalling the defenders of the schism, and banishing the partisans of the Roman church. By these means he succeeded in re-establishing some degree of tranquillity in the empire, and the rigor with which he punished a conspiracy plotted by his own brother, served to give stability to the throne. Still, the state could not sustain itself. Andronicus was compelled to take in pay a body of Catalonian adventurers, who were ready to sell their swords and their blood to the best paymaster. These intrepid mercenaries, armed with a small

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buckler, a sword, and a few javelins, were immediately sent against the Turks. The success of their first campaign surpassed their employer's hopes ; but the empire had no longer at its disposal the treasures with which the Comneni had bought the aid of the Russians, the Normans, and the English. Roger de Flor, the brave chief of the Catalonians, conquered the Turks, and demanded his reward. His troops were paid with counterfeit money, and he was assassinated. The Catalonians, in their fury, massacred the inhabitants of Gallipoli, and soon their bands, under the name of *armies of the Franks*, annihilated the imperial troops which were brought against them. They devastated the shores of the Black Sea, and remained masters of Thrace (1307). Encamping at the gates of Constantinople, they held the city in terror for five years, till at length, weakened by their own dissensions, they were compelled to retreat. The emperor thought himself fortunate in being able to turn their ravages against the duchy of Athens, no longer a part of the empire, and which they conquered (1312), and disposed of several times. They then disappeared from history ; but the memory of their terrible vengeance long remained engraved in the minds of the inhabitants of the East. The empire had just lost too the island of Rhodes, which was taken by the knights of St. John (1309), who did not stop their conquests till they had made themselves masters of several islands of the Archipelago.

323. *Religious and political Disputes.*—*The Turks called in as Auxiliaries.*—The Greeks, having escaped this double danger, returned to their religious disputes. Fanatical monks sustained, with all the obstinacy of their order, absurd doctrines and foolish dreams, which were opposed in a council assembled in St. Sophia. *Andronicus III.* (1328–1341) took part in the quarrel, made a new attempt to bring about the reunion of the two churches, and died of fatigue after a violent controversy (1341). The favorite *John Catacuzene*,

who had supported his feeble master by his advice and example, had refused the crown which the emperor in his discouragement had wished to force upon him ; but after the death of Andronicus, he wrested the throne from *John Paleologus*, to whom he had been appointed guardian (1347). The rivalry of these two pretenders gave the final blow to the empire. John Paleologus had taken Turkish troops in pay. *Catacuzene* called to his aid other tribes of Mussulmen, returned with their assistance to Constantinople, and, to secure their alliance, gave his daughter to *Ourkhan*, chief of the Ottoman hordes. Then, to escape this dangerous protection, he was reconciled to the young Paleologus. But it was in vain. The influence of the Turks increased daily, and *Catacuzene*, wearied with a fruitless resistance, descended from the throne to seek repose in a cloister (1355). His son *Matthew*, untaught by the experience of his father, began anew the contest with Paleologus, and each in turn put himself under the protection of the Turks. At last, Paleologus conquered, but the Turks, who had come to Constantinople as allies, swore that they would return as masters.

## § II.

### OTTOMAN TURKS.

324. *Beginning of the power of the Ottomans.*—It was no longer the Seljuks that ruled in Asia Minor. Their empire, subdued by the Moguls, had been definitively divided at the death of Alaeddin, the Seljuk sultan (1037), into ten small independent states, one of which was destined to rise upon the accumulated ruins of Iconium and Constantinople. It owed its origin to a little tribe which came from Khorassan under the guidance of *Ertoghrul*, and found in his son *Os-*

*man* an intrepid chief, and the founder of the Ottoman dominion. Osman was already distinguished by his exploits when his father died (1288). The next year, he received from the Sultan Alaeddin the title of prince, with a fief which he soon enlarged at the expense of the Greeks; and, continuing his conquests during a career of thirty-eight years, he crowned them at last by the taking of Pruse or Broussa, one of the most important cities of Asia Minor. Proud of having won a capital and a tomb worthy of him, he died in 1326, covered with glory, and venerated by the Ottomans, who were proud to think that his enterprising spirit and dauntless courage were united with all the great qualities which distinguish the founders of empires.

325. *Conquests of Ourkhan and Amurat I. in Europe.*—*Ourkhan*, Osman's son and successor, followed up his successes in Asia Minor, favored by the dissensions of the feeble pretenders who contended for the empire of Constantinople. Nicomedia and Nice fell into his power in succession (1328–1330). The conquest of the Turkoman states of Asia Minor, and the taking of Gallipoli (1357), led the Ottomans to the gates of Constantinople. In less than a century (1363–1357) they had already made seventeen descents upon Europe, and shaken to its foundations the throne of the Greek emperors, which Catacuzene vainly sought to strengthen by giving Ourkhan his daughter in marriage (1347). This prince, whose name is still held in veneration by the Turks, founded the Ottoman power on energetic institutions. It was he that instituted the magistracy of the *Cadis*. The organization of the janizaries (*yenischéri*, *new troop*,) is also attributed to him, a formidable soldiery, composed of Christian slaves brought up in the faith of Mahomet, which, abjuring family, country, and religion, was to find them all in passive obedience to the will of its chief.

*Mourad or Amurat I.* (1359–1389), Ourkhan's succe-

son, interested the janizaries in his conquests by giving them military benefices. These new troops were, from their origin, the terror of the Christians, as they afterwards became of the sultans themselves. Amurat invaded the provinces of the empire with a frightful rapidity, and forced Paleologus to accompany him on an expedition against some governors of Asia. Soon Anoyra and Adrianople opened their gates to him, while Armenia yielded almost without resistance. Lewis the Great, king of Hungary, was defeated near Adrianople, which he had not been able to succor. In vain the terrified Paleologus ran to Italy to abjure the schism before Urban V. (1370); he could not obtain a single soldier from the people of the West, and on his return he found Amurat master of Acarnania and Macedon. The chief of the little kingdom of Servia alone continued to resist the infidels with unshaken courage. Conquered at Belgrade in 1383, he took up arms again with the aid of the kings of Bosnia and Bulgaria, and attacked Amurat at the head of a formidable army. The Turks were again victorious at *Cassovo* (1389); but Amurat fell in the conflict.

326. *Exploits of Bajazet I.—Battle of Nicopolis.—Distress of the Eastern Empire.*—Three great princes had succeeded each other at the head of the empire. But their glory was effaced by that of *Bayezid*, or *Bajazet I.* (1389-1403), Amurat's son, who, by the rapidity of his conquests, won the surname of *Yilderim* (lightning). John Paleologus, who had displayed a lamentable weakness with Amurat, was the plaything of the new sultan. He had had marble towers built near the golden gate of Constantinople. He tore them down at the threat of Bajazet. His son Manuel, escaping from the Turks who had held him prisoner, tried to resist the haughty enemy. Bajazet instantly resumed the course of his conquests; took Philadelphia—the last possession of the Greeks in Asia Minor—and the strong city of Thessalo-

nica; razed all the villages around Constantinople, and terrified the imperial city itself by a five years' siege, which at last he only raised to invade Hungary, where he was called by the tributaries of King Sigismund. Sigismund called Europe to defend a cause which was common to all Christendom. A crusade of Italian adventurers, and German and French knights commanded by the celebrated John the Bold, was formed against the infidels. The Christian army, composed of a hundred and thirty thousand men, revived Sigismund's courage. "What have we to fear from the Turks?" said he; "if the heavens should fall, we have lances enough to hold them up." But victory decided for Bajazet in spite of the valor of the Christian knights; and the massacre of ten thousand prisoners avenged the death of the Mussulmen who had fallen in the plains of *Nicopolis* (1396).

Bajazet, victorious but exhausted, returned to seek easier triumphs in the East, and govern the emperors of Constantinople at will. He had a mosque built within the city, and established a *cadi* there to judge the disputes of Mussulmen. Constantinople seemed already conquered. Manuel had quit his capital, and was trying to rouse the enthusiasm of the Christians of the West for a new crusade. But Europe was weary of those eternal complaints, and Manuel's long journey only served him to study the manners and usages of the West. The duke of Milan sent him to the king of France, the king of France to the king of England. Every body distrusted him as an importunate beggar, unworthy of aid and even of pity. Meanwhile Bajazet was enjoying his grandeur and his power, amid the luxuries of his magnificent residence of *Broussa*. Among his slaves there were representatives of all the nations of the earth; and he was only waiting for an occasion to annihilate the last fragments of the dominion of the Greeks, and transport the seat of his power



to the imperial city. But all of a sudden there came a frightful invasion, which put an end to his success and his reign, and retarded for a few years the fall of Constantinople.

### § III.

#### TAMERLANE.

327. *Tamerlane—His conquests.—Battle of Ancyra.*—The chief of one of the tribes of the dismembered empire of Genghis Khan, *Timour*, surnamed *Lenk* or the lame, whom European historians call Tamerlane, had been stripped of his inheritance while a child, and sought a compensation by putting himself at the head of some wandering Tartars (about 1360). These soon grew to an army, which he enriched with plunder; and causing himself to be proclaimed sovereign of Samarcand, he put on a golden crown, and swore war against all the people of the earth. Rapid victories soon made him master of Upper Asia, or rather *all the countries through which he passed from the Indus to the Tanais*, were covered with blood and ruins. A new Genghis Khan seemed to have arisen to terrify the world.

Some Seljuk emir of Asia Minor called him against Bajazet, who replied to his menaces by insulting his messengers. Tamerlane fell upon Asia Minor, leaving behind him Damascus and Bagdad in ruins, and a pyramid of ninety thousand human heads. The two great rulers of the East, Bajazet and Tamerlane, met at Ancyra. In spite of the furious resistance of the janizaries and the brilliant courage of the Christians of Servia, who cut their way ~~three~~ times through the enemy's ranks, Bajazet's hundred thousand soldiers could not stand the shock of eight hundred thousand Moguls. Bajazet was taken—the only living man in the midst of all

his slaughtered janizaries (1402). Tamerlane, as if he scorned a victory of which he was so sure, was playing chess with his son when the conquered prince was brought before him. The haughty firmness of the captive pleased the victor, who kept him near his own person in an easy captivity. The sultan died the next year (1403), and Tamerlane did not survive him long (1405).

328. *Dissolution of Tamerlane's empire.*—*The Turks recommence their conquests.*—Tamerlane's empire met the same fate with that of Alexander, which it surpassed in extent: and of this immense dominion nothing remained but the empire of the Great Mogul on the north of India, which lasted to our own times. The Christians of Constantinople had a moment of hope; for there was great confusion after Bajazet's defeat, and the quarrels of his sons made it still greater. *Soliman the Audacious* (1403–1410) restored several cities to the emperor Manuel in order to obtain his protection. But the victory of Semendria, gained by Musa over the emperor Sigismund, and the accession of *Mahomet I.* (1413–1421)—the murderer of his brothers—rekindled the terrors of Constantinople. Still Mahomet respected to the day of his death the alliance which he had sworn. His warlike activity was turned against the successors of Tamerlane, while, on his side, the emperor of the East was carefully fortifying the barriers of the empire. After the death of Bajazet's son (1421), Manuel tried to divide, by force of intrigue, the reviving power of the Ottomans. But *Amurat II.* (1421–1451), victorious over the rival whom the emperor had set up against him, avenged himself by laying siege to Constantinople. A diversion, caused by a revolt which the intriguing genius of the emperor had stirred up, saved the city; and *John III., Paleologus* (1425–1448), Manuel's successor, concluded a peace with the sultan, who turned his

arms against Hungary, where a formidable league was forming against the infidels.

329. *Contests of Hunnyades Corvinus and Scanderbeg against the Infidels.*—But Belgrade checked his career. This city was defended by a hero, *John Hunnyades Corvinus*, whom the Turks in their fright called the *Devil*, and to whom the Hungarians applied these words of the Gospel :—“There was a man sent from God, whose name was John.” Hunnyades forced Amurat to retreat, after having sustained for six months the efforts of an immense army (1443). The loss of ten battles punished Amurat for having dared to attack Catholic Europe, and a treaty was signed by which the Sultan swore to restore Servia and not to ravage Hungary.

All the advantages of this treaty were lost by the imprudent zeal of a papal legate. The young king of Hungary, instigated to war, organized a crusade. A numerous army, composed of Hungarians, Poles, Bohemians, and Germans, went to meet Amurat's army in Bulgaria. The two armies met near Varna. The sultan caused the treaty, which had just been sworn, to be carried before the ranks, and invoked the vengeance of God on the perjured Christians ; and as if his prayer had been granted, he won a complete victory. Vladislav was killed in the conflict, and Hunnyades fled for the first time, confessing that it was an act of divine vengeance (1444).

Then, too, appeared another intrepid defender of liberty and religion, *George Castriota*, surnamed *Scanderbeg*, prince of Albania. He had been brought up among the Turks, and on recovering his liberty, renounced Islamism, which they had compelled him to adopt, and became their deadliest enemy. At the head of his brave mountaineers, he freed himself from the sovereignty of the Ottomans (1438), repulsed twice the attacks of Amurat, and baffled in his capital, the little city of Croia, all the efforts of the infidel.

## § IV.

## TAKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

330. *Mahomet II. and Constantine XII.—Taking of Constantinople.*—The Turkish and Greek empire changed masters. Amurat II. and John III., Paleologus, were followed by *Mahomet II.* in 1451, and Constantine XII. in 1448; one of whom was to be the last emperor of the Greeks, and the other the conqueror of Constantinople. From the beginning of his reign, Mahomet announced himself as the most implacable and ferocious enemy of the Christians. A fortress which he built upon the shores of Thrace, and armed with a monstrous cannon, which sent a ball of six hundred pounds a thousand paces, shut up the entrance of the Bosphorus for the Christians. Constantine, feeling that the final hour was come, gave one more alarm-cry, which resounded vainly through the West. He would have renewed the union of the two churches, and saved his throne at the expense of his creed; but the people, clinging firmly to their faith in this last hour, spurned even the aid of the Latins, crying out that they would rather accept the turban of Mahomet than the tiara of the pope. Constantine, who had obtained only the aid of two thousand Genoese, could scarcely find in Constantinople five thousand fighting men to oppose the countless army of Mahomet. The siege began the 6th of April, 1453. The last of the Cæars fell like a hero. For fifty-three days, and seconded by the brave Justinian, he sustained with indefatigable valor the efforts of Mahomet, and the furious assaults of the janizaries. At length, the Ottomans made a general assault. Constantine, conscious that he could no longer resist, prepared to die with the remnants of his garrison. The anizaries soon poured in upon the defenceless ramparts;

and the emperor, stripping off his golden armor, rushed head-long into the conflict, and fell without being recognized. Mahomet entered the conquered city in triumphal array. The capital of the Cæsars became the capital of the Sultan, and in a few years all the possessions of the Greek empire acknowledged his sway.

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## PART SECOND.

### THE RESPECTIVE POWER AND SITUATION OF THE MUSSULMAN AND CHRISTIAN STATES IN THE MIDDLE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

331. *State of the Ottoman power, and of the other Mussulman dominions.*—The taking of Constantinople, which crowned the establishment of the Ottoman empire in Europe, was the last great progress of the last invasion of the barbarians. The eastern gate of Europe had fallen, as Spain, the western barrier, had fallen long before. Constantine had closed the list of emperors, as Roderic had closed that of the Visigothic kings, and both died in battle against the enemies of the Christian name. But as the invasion of the Mussulmen, in the eighth century, had been checked beyond the Pyrenees by the valor of the Franks, so in the fifteenth, John Hunnyades and the Albanian Scanderbeg (v. Mod. Hist. ch. i. § 1), renewing the exploits of Charles Martel, were to stay the march of the infidel and save Christianity.

The definitive triumph of the Turks in the east of Europe had been prepared by a long series of successes. The throne of the Cæsars had long been tottering on the brink of the abyss. The empire had seen its provinces slip one by one from its grasp, and its strength and its splendor fade gradually

away. The Turks, constantly in arms, had ravaged the open country, carried off women, children, and priests, by crowds, to sell them as slaves, or transport them into Asia. Eastern colonies had established themselves in the dwellings of the exile, and the opulence of the new inhabitants seemed a mockery of the wretchedness of the Greeks. The emperors, so passionately fond of brilliant ceremonial, had been compelled to renounce their ancient pomp. False diamonds had replaced the imperial jewelry, their plate was changed for pewter, and their golden cups for copper. The Mussulmen had divided among them the shreds of the impoverished and depopulated empire, before they gave it the fatal blow. While the imperial domains were reduced to a few villages in the neighborhood of Constantinople, and a part of the Morea, the Ottomans were masters of all Asia Minor, from the Euphrates and the confines of the little empire of Trebizond to the western coast. In Europe, their power extended to the banks of the Danube, to the mountains of Bosnia and Albania, and into the very heart of Greece.

In spite of the divisions of the ancient empire of the Caliphs, the different Mussulman dominions, which had been formed from its fragments, occupied a vast portion of the globe. The Turkomans shared central Asia with the Monguls. Egypt and Syria were in the power of the Mamelukes. The kingdoms of Tunis, of Tremesen, and of Morocco, filled Northern Africa, and the kingdom of Grenada was still standing in Spain.

332. *General situation of Europe.*—The reaction of the Christian against the Mussulman world was still very far off. At the moment when the contest, which had begun in the East, seemed about to call all Europe to the field, she had opposed to the Turks only the valor of a few princes in their immediate vicinity, the fleets of Venice, the heroism of the knights of Rhodes, worthy successors of the knights of Pales-

tine, and the fruitless zeal of the popes. While the popes vainly raised their voices to rekindle the ardor of the crusades, the nations of Europe, weak and divided, thought only of consolidating their own constitutions. No great power had yet risen to put itself at the head of a European movement. The temporal supremacy of the popes was destroyed. The imperial power had not been re-established, and Europe had no political centre.

333. *States of the North.*—The three Scandinavian powers destroyed the work of Margaret, breaking the union of Calmar after the death of Christopher the Bavarian. The contest of Charles VIII. of Sweden, and Christian I. of Denmark, for the possession of Norway, show the first results of the division of the people of the North. In Russia, the moment had not yet come when the Slavonic power was to recover its unity and power. Vasili, or Basil III., sometimes tributary, sometimes captive of the Tartars, was also obliged to contend for his throne, with the princes of his family, and though he succeeded in reuniting to his domain a great number of small independent states, he vainly sought to repel the yoke of the Mogul Khans, the founders of the Golden Horde.

The dominion of the Teutonic knights begins to be seriously menaced by the progress of a national party, which is soon to become the Prussian people. In 1453 a league of cities and nobles refused obedience to the Order, and put itself under the protection of Poland, which, though recently subject to the influence of the knights, had recovered under the Jagellons her strength and her independence. Casimir IV. had extended his domains to the shores of the Baltic, at the expense of the Teutonic order, and succeeded in maintaining the union of Poland with the duchy of Lithuania. But already the power of the nobility, whose privilege Casimir himself had been compelled to secure by oath, begins to rise up against the royal power, and it is already easy to foresee

that series of rivalries and fatal disputes, which were one day to deprive Poland of the preponderance which she had so laboriously won by five centuries of combats and persevering efforts.

384. *France and England.*—France, on the contrary, issuing from the long contest between the king and the feudal nobility, was approaching an epoch of unity and strength. The English had lost Normandy by the battle of Formigny (1448), and Guyenne by that of Castillon (1451). Charles VII., master at last of the whole French territory, begins to introduce order and system in its government. The formation of the parliament of Toulouse, formed on the model of that of Paris, places Guyenne and Languedoc under the control of royal justice, and the creation of a standing army frees the king forever from the dictation of the feudal aristocracy. Charles VII., wholly devoted to his work of restoration, would not listen to the urgent entreaties of the Greeks, nor hazard the success of so much care by a distant war and an adventurous expedition. It was enough for his glory to have ended the long rivalry between France and England, by securing the triumph of his own country.

Henry VI., driven from France, where he had nothing left but the city of Calais, did not even know how to defend his power against the insubordination of his own subjects. England, under the government of this feeble monarch, was rent by domestic troubles, the prelude of that famous war of the *two roses*, with which her modern history begins. Scotland, where the royal authority seemed to have been annihilated during the long captivity of James I., a prisoner of the English, was occupied like France with the reorganization of her government; and the contests between the king and the nobles, marked by the assassination of James I., were resumed with energy by James II., the heir of his father's policy.

385. *Germany and Switzerland.*—In the German empire



power was still in the period of decay. The results of the successful efforts of Albert of Austria were wholly lost by the incapacity of Frederic III., skilful and persevering only in the aggrandizement of his own family—an aggrandizement, however, which prepares the way for the restoration of the imperial power. Frederic, who had solemnly renounced all the pretensions of the emperors over Rome, and permitted all the princes of the empire to assume a real independence, could not think of re-establishing the imperial supremacy over that invincible confederation of Helvetia, whose young existence was already brilliant with glory. Morgarten and Sempach, those wonderful exploits of the middle ages, will be followed in modern history by the no less splendid triumphs over Charles the Rash. In the east of Germany, the crowns of Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia, the future patrimony of the imperial family, were united upon the brow of Ladislaus the Posthumous. Hungary and Bohemia, placed in the advance guard of Europe, have an incessant contest to maintain against the Ottomans—an heroic struggle, which forms the glory of John Hunnyades Corvinus. But after the death of the defender of Christendom, the provinces of Bosnia, Croatia, Vallachia, and Moldavia, which were dependent upon Hungary, were wrested from it one by one, while the last efforts of the Hussites excited new troubles in Bohemia.

336. *Italy*.—Italy was split up into minuter divisions than any country of Europe, and her domestic dissensions soon prepared the way for foreign influence. In the North the Sforzas reigned over the Milanese, united with Parma and Piacenza. The house of Este, celebrated for the good fortune, which interwove its name at so cheap a rate with some of the brightest laurels of the Italian Parnassus, held Ferrara and Modena. Venice still preserved her energy under the iron sway of her inquisitors, although her period of decay had already begun. Mistress of Treviso, Verona, Padua,

Brescia, and Bergamo, she held the predominance in northern Italy, and still ruled the sea by her numerous fleets. But the progress of the Turks, favored by the imprudent rivalry between Venice and Genoa, stripped both of these powerful republics of the most important of their possessions beyond the Adriatic. Pisa, the ancient rival of Genoa, had fallen from her rank among the Italian states, and was subjected to Florence; which, under the prudent and skilful administration of Cosimo dei Medici, exercised an incontestable supremacy over the cities of Tuscany. Lucca alone had preserved her independence. The two Sicilies, governed by Alphonso the Magnanimous, had reached the summit of their grandeur and prosperity. Letters and art, under the protection of this prince, shed their splendor around his throne. But Alphonso's death marked the close of this brilliant period, and, after long and bitter contests, gave southern Italy to a foreign dominion. At Rome, the pontifical power was nearly confined within the limits of its spiritual authority, and the pope no longer gave laws to the city and the world (*urbi et orbi*) as common father of all believers. Nicholas V. strove to heal the deep wounds which the schism of the West had inflicted upon the church. Yet in the midst of his pontifical cares he did not forget the political role which his predecessors had filled with so much splendor. He alone, at the sight of the progress of the infidels, called Europe to a powerful and magnanimous effort. He alone strove to save Constantinople and organize an energetic resistance against the Mussulmen. His paternal solicitude, fruitless amid the discords of the West, was useful at least to his own country, when he contributed to the conclusion of the treaty of Lodi, an attempt, unfortunately not successful, to put an end to the deep-rooted divisions of Italy and secure her independence.

337. *Spain and Portugal.*—The Spanish peninsula, on the contrary, was tending towards a great and powerful unity.

The Christian kingdoms of Castile, Navarre, and Aragon, and the Moorish kingdom of Grenada, still separated and agitated by violent contests, were soon to be united for the good and the glory of all Spain. The little kingdom of Portugal, impatient within its narrow limits, and with its eyes constantly turned towards the western seas, had opened, under Alphonso the African, that career of great discoveries, which, before the end of the century, was to lead her beyond the cape of Good Hope. Meanwhile, an obscure Genoese was meditating that daring enterprise which gave Spain a new world. Modern Europe reveals herself with her wonderful destinies.

## CHAPTER XX.

### SUMMARY NOTIONS OF THE ARTS, LITERATURE, THE SCIENCES, AND COMMERCE IN EUROPE, FROM CHARLEMAGNE TO THE TAKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

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#### SUMMARY.

§ I. Revival of Letters under Charlemagne.—Decay in the tenth century.—Separation of the Teutonic and Romance languages.—Influence of the Latin language.—Revival of intellectual activity at the end of the tenth century.—Development of Scholastic Philosophy.—Instruction spreads and becomes more regular.—Creation of universities.—Disputes of the Realists and Nominalists.

§ II. National literatures.—The language of Oc and the Troubadours; the language of Oil and the Trouveres.—French prose and poetry.—Spanish literature.—Italian literature.—Dante.—Petrarch.—Boccaccio.—English literature.—Slavonic and Scandinavian literature.—Greek literature.

§ III. Roman and Byzantine architecture.—Ogival architecture.—Painting.—Sculpture.—Music.—Sciences.—Principal inventions.

§ IV. Internal commerce.—Organization of industry.

#### § I.

##### LATIN LITERATURE.—SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY.

338. *Revival of Letters under Charlemagne.*—At the epoch in which Charlemagne appeared, ignorance had inva-

ded all classes of society. The last vestiges of the Roman science and civilization of the fourth and fifth centuries had disappeared with the introduction of the barbarians into the church, and the scandalous union of military and ecclesiastical life.

Charlemagne began by re-establishing discipline in the church, the decay of which had led to the decay of instruction. Then he called together the most learned men of all countries to labor with him for the revival of science and literature. There were seen the learned *Peter of Pisa*; the German *Leirade*, archbishop of Lyons; the Goth *Theodulph*, bishop of Orleans; the abby of Fontenelle; *Ansegisius*, editor of the first collection of the Capitularies, and the Frank *Eginhard*, secretary and historiographer of the emperor, and the most remarkable writer of this epoch. At their head was *Alcuin* (died 804), deacon of the church of York, but educated in Italy, where the vestiges of Roman civilization had been better preserved than in any other country. Charles was his first scholar (v. no. 139). The emperor founded in his own palace, under the name of palatine school, a school for the education of the children of the nobles, and caused a great many other schools to be opened near the churches and monasteries, in the hope of preparing the way, by a common education, for the fusion of all these different people. The movement spread beyond his states. The missionary, St. Anscharius, founded schools in the north of Germany, and St. Dunstan in England; Cyril and Methodius among the Bulgarians, Moravians, and Bohemians. The writings of the fathers were translated into Sclavonian. In Russia, three hundred youths were received into the college of Jaroslaf.

The preservation of the old models had been the principal end of Charlemagne's first efforts. But while he favored the study of Latin and Greek, as indispensable to theology, he

took care also of his mother tongue, causing the war-songs of the old Germans to be collected, and a German grammar compiled.

The arts and sciences were less fortunate than literature. Although architecture, according to his contemporaries, was assiduously cultivated, no remarkable monument has reached us, and painting and sculpture made no progress. The columns and mosaics of the palace of Aix la Chapelle were brought from Ravenna.

339. *Decay at the end of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries.*

—The great emperor's work of civilization was as short-lived as that of political organization. It was in vain that his immediate successors, Lewis the Debonnaire and Charles the Bald, held out a generous protection to studies, and that some men who had been formed by Charlemagne strove to continue his age. After the historian Eginhard (d. 839), in whose principal work, the *Life of Charlemagne*, there is a unity of exposition, a clearness of style, and sometimes a critical judgment, which raise it far above all the works of this period; and after the Irish theologian, *John Scotus Erigena* (9th cent.), whose bold speculations are the forerunners of scholastic theology, disastrous influences seemed to stifle the progress of the human mind.

The preponderance of feudality, which was the triumph of brute force, was an indirect attack upon the civilization which had been protected by royalty and the clergy. At the same time, the invasion of the northern barbarians plunged Europe once more into a universal chaos, while the progress of the Mussulmen, masters of Asia and Egypt, gave a fatal blow to literature by cutting off the supply of papyrus, the only cheap and generally accessible material for writing. It is to this also that we are to attribute the loss of many precious writings of classic antiquity, which were effaced to prepare the parchment on which they were written for re-

ceiving some notarial act, or the legend of some popular saint.

The Northmen, who had not taken a part in the first invasion, attacked the rising society of the middle ages, as their predecessors had attacked that of the old empire. The monasteries were burnt or plundered, with the libraries which they contained; and those of the conquerors who took orders carried into the church the coarse and turbulent habits of their former life. Some schools, and among them that of St. Germain of Auxerre in Paris, dragged on a feeble existence till the end of the ninth century. But in the course of the next century, every trace of instruction was lost. England, which had been animated for a moment by the glorious example of Alfred the Great, shared the general desolation during the ravages of the Danes. The tenth century is one of the saddest for literary as well as for political history, though France and Germany were far from being so badly off as Italy and England.

340. *Influence of the Latin Language.*—Still, the principle of unity was not wholly destroyed by this universal disorganization. At the dissolution of the Carolingian empire, languages, like nations, were divided. The Germans took the *Tudesque*, the remains of their old national idiom; the people, who had once been subjects of the empire, the *Romance*, a corruption of the language of the former masters of the world. But as a supreme power gradually rose in the midst of the divided society of the tenth century, so one language rose above all others, and preserved its preponderance. The Latin language, at once the symbol and the instrument of the religious unity of the middle ages, continued to be the language of the church as well as the language of learning and politics. It was in this language that the learned men of one country held communication with those of another—that the sharpest controversies about

church and empire were carried on—that some of the most remarkable efforts of the human mind were displayed. *Omnis latinitas* was the word used to designate the Christian and learned Europe of the age of St. Bernard.

341. *Intellectual activity revives at the end of the tenth century.*—In the second half of the tenth century, intellectual activity begins to revive. Schools for the instruction of children are gradually re-opened. *Abbon of Fleury* and *Fulbert of Chartres* engage with ardor in the study of philosophy. The French *Gerbertus* (d. 1003), archbishop of Rheims, then of Ravenna, and at last pope under the name of Sylvester II., friend and master of Hugh Capet, of Robert, and of the Emperor Otho III., was distinguished by a profound scientific knowledge, which he borrowed from the Arabs in Spain, and the Italians in Rome, and by important discoveries in natural philosophy, mechanics and mathematics, which made his ignorant contemporaries suspect him of magic.

The glory of forming almost all the great men of the eleventh century belongs to Italy. *Lanfranc*, who was born at Pavia, gave renown by his learning to the Abbey of Jumieges, which produced so many eminent men, and then passed into England with William of Normandy to mitigate the evils of the conquest, and continue in the chair of Canterbury the work of civilization which had been begun by Alfred the Great (d. 1089). His successor to the archbishopric of Canterbury, *Anselm*, like him an Italian (d. 1109), displayed perhaps less imagination but more elevation and boldness. He introduces philosophy into the domain of theology, enters firmly upon the great problem of the agreement of faith and reason, and without straying from the Catholic dogma, recognizes the rights of the human mind. In his *Monologium*, he proves the existence of God by the same principle which was afterwards developed by Descartes. His *Proslogium* contains



the profoundest considerations upon divine science. Modern philosophy pays increasing homage to his eminent and long-neglected merit.

342. *Scholastic Philosophy.—Contest between St. Bernard and Abelard.*—Thus begins the great science of the middle ages, *scholastic philosophy*, or the application of dialectics to theology, which, like the philosophy of all ages, discusses the gravest and most important questions, but resolves them by the light of revealed dogmas. Whatever may have been said of scholastic philosophy by those who never took the pains to study it—whatever we may think of those subtle forms of argumentation, unskillfully imitated from the catagories of Aristotle, but which had nevertheless the merit of giving the mind an incredible vigor and suppleness—no one now dares to treat as idle questions and sterile disputes those discussions of the schools which led to the foundation of universities throughout Europe, raised theological science to the highest point, and laid the foundations of the greater part of modern sciences. From the beginning of the twelfth century Paris witnessed the brilliant lessons of *Abelard* (1079–1142), the completest representative of the science of his age. From the summit of Mount St. Genevieve Abelard electrified thousands of hearers by his powerful eloquence, and, exiled by the influence of his enemies, saw the solitude suddenly peopled by an immense multitude. All Christendom followed with anxiety his theological contests with *St. Bernard* (1091–1153), who, victorious over his redoubtable adversary, compelled him publicly to retract his errors. St. Bernard exercised a prodigious authority over his age, appearing as great in the schools as in those assemblies where his enthusiastic eloquence drew kings and people to the crusades.

343. *Development of Public Instruction.—Foundation of Universities.*—In the midst of all this intellectual activity, instruction begins to be developed and systematized. At the

beginning of the twelfth century, lay schools were formed at the side of the ecclesiastical schools, and began those lessons of *Roman and canon law* which were destined to exercise so great an influence. Jenerius (towards 1140) commentates the Pandects with success, attracting a large number of young men to Bologna by his lessons. His scholars spread over France and England, and soon sovereigns, struck with the regularity of Roman legislation, compared with the uncertainty of their *customs*, begin to call lawyers to their aid, and adopt in their acts the forms of the imperial constitutions. It was at Bologna, too, that a monk named *Gratian* (towards 1160) compiled a collection of canons for instruction in ecclesiastical law, which was approved by Eugene III. The tribunals as well as the schools drew eagerly from this fruitful source, which was constantly enriched by new contributions, till pope Gregory, causing to be published under the title of *Decretals*, the complete collection of pontifical decisions, established the principles of canon law.

The importance of these new objects of instruction reacted upon the organization of the schools, which was suddenly strengthened and enlarged. In the first year of the thirteenth century several professors, who had till then been teaching separately, obtained a common constitution, and formed a kind of corporation of teachers. Thus was founded the university of Paris, which by its learning and independence exercised an immense influence over Christian and political Europe.

The impulse once given, similar associations sprang up on all sides. The most celebrated universities which were then founded were those of Paris, founded in 1200; Salamanca, 1223; Naples, 1224; Cambridge, 1231; Vienna, 1236; Upsal, 1240; Montpellier, 1283; Lisbon, 1290; Orleans, 1305; Oxford, 1206.

The university of Paris soon saw the most distinguished

men of England, Italy, Spain, Germany, and the whole North, flock thither to complete their studies at this centre of science and learning. Theological disputes were carried on with increasing brilliancy in the higher departments, while the masters of the arts initiated the younger students into the seven branches of study: the *trivium* and *quadrivium* grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics, arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy.

344. *Disputes of the Realists and Nominalists.*—*Albertus Magnus.*—*St. Thomas.*—The great dispute of the *Realists* and *Nominalists*, which was to divide the philosophers and theologians of the middle ages, had already begun. Abelard's master, *William of Champeaux*, had taught that ideas were real and substantial beings. The Briton *Roscelinus*, who had been condemned as a heretic for his opinions concerning the Trinity (1092), and after him the eloquent Abelard, maintained with Aristotle, the oracle of this epoch, that ideas were pure abstractions of the mind, having only a nominal existence. This discussion divided thinkers into two great schools, which agreed only on the common ground of religious faith. It was then that appeared *Peter Lombard* (d. 1160), author of the celebrated *Book of Sentences*, a collection of the principal philosophical opinions of the fathers, and *Gilbert de la Poree* (d. 1154), both *Nominalists*, and who were opposed by St. Bernard. Soon a profounder study of Aristotle's logic, which exercised an astonishing influence over this epoch, gave new strength to the human mind, and the names of Albertus Magnus, St. Thomas of Aquinas, and Duns Scotus, opened a still more brilliant period. The German *Albertus Magnus* (1193–1280) embraced in his range of inquiry theology, ethics, politics, and more particularly the natural sciences, natural philosophy, alchymy, astronomy, and mathematics. *St. Thomas* (1226–1274); born of a noble Sicilian family, and educated at the university of Paris, dis-

plays in all his writings a sublimity of views, a depth of judgment, and a knowledge of divine things, which procured him the name of the *Angel of the Schools*, and his *Summa Theologiae* deserves to be placed by the side of the best writings of St. Augustine. Contemporary of the mystic *St. Bonaventura* (1221–1274), *Duns Scotus* (13th cent.), the *Seraphic Doctor*, devoted himself to dialectics and philosophical analysis, winning, by his attempts to found the experimental method, the name of the *subtle*. He was chief of the *Scottists*, who opposed with implacable zeal the realist opinions of the disciples of St. Thomas. *Raymond Lully* (about 1315), the *Enlightened Doctor*, who invented a sort of logical mechanism for the guidance of the mind in reasoning, and *Roger Bacon* (1214–1292), learned in natural philosophy, and who endeavored to separate the domains of philosophy and theology, followed the traces of Scotus. The tendencies of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries begin to appear. The contests of the middle ages gradually change their character. The English *John Ockham* (d. 1347), the French *Peter of Ailly* (1350–1420), and *Gerson*, the pious chancellor of the university (1353–1429), were the last champions of nominalism against the realist school of St. Thomas.

## § II.

### FRENCH, SPANISH, ITALIAN, &C. LITERATURE.

345. *National Literatures.*—*Language of Oc and Troubadours.*—*Language of Oil and Trouveres.*—Scholastic philosophy, with its difficult forms and subtle distinctions, was on the eve of decay, when modern literature and the new languages began to mark out their places by immortal productions. From the tenth century, Europe was divided be-

tween four great national idioms, the Romance, Tudesque, Sclavonic, and that old Greek which still survived with the Eastern empire.

France, Spain, and Italy, belong to the Romance. In the south of France was formed the Provençal Romance, the *language of Oc*, so harmonious in the verses of the *troubadours*, noble knights, or poor villagers, ennobled by the *gay science*, who, accompanied by their *jugglers*, went round from castle to castle to sing their songs of love. The Provençal Romance, adorned by the light imagination of the South, and the imitation of the Arabic poetry, which gave it rhyme, had more grace than strength in spite of the bold satires of some daring thinkers, and the energetic hymns of the warlike *Bertram of Born*, the Tyrtæus of the middle ages, or of the valiant *Richard of the lion heart*. It fell without leaving any very remarkable monuments, amid the civil and religious wars which ensanguined the south of France during the thirteenth century.

The Wallon Romance or language of *Oïl* was called to a higher destiny. The Normans, who, becoming the active agents of civilization, carried the old French into England and Italy, separated it by their influence from the language of *Oc*. It sets up the *trouveres* against the troubadours, and they celebrate in long poems the exploits of the heroes of antiquity and the middle ages in a style which, though less brilliant and sonorous, is more masculine and vigorous than that of their rivals of the South. Thus rise the great romances of the *Round Table*, precursors of the famous *Romance of the Rose*, the production of John of Meung and William of Lorris, the poetic glory of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

346. *French Prose and Poetry*.—More serious works had already marked the progress of that which was to become the *French language*. *Villehardouin* (1167–1213), the

historian of the fourth crusade, pleases by the artlessness and unformed rudeness of his language; you feel that it is a new idiom relating things born at the same time with itself. *Joinville* (1223–1317) wrote, with a charming grace and simplicity, *the life and very holy deeds of the good king St. Lewis*, and seems almost a man of genius by force of the originality and nature of his style. At the end of the fourteenth century, *Froissart*, wandering chronicler, roams from land to land, collecting the facts worthy to be remembered, and narrating them with the imagination of a troubadour, the malicious spirit of a *trouvere*, and the eloquence and fidelity of an historian. *Froissart* is the worthy precursor of *Commines*, who was the first to intermix the inquiry into causes with historical narration, and political views with the exposition of events. The *History of Charles V.* by *Christine of Pisa*, the *Chronicle of Monstrelet*, the history of *Juvenal of the Ursins*, are much inferior to the memoirs of *Froissart*. At the same time remarkable productions appear in another sphere of literature. Some of the *Moralities* of the *Bazoche*, which begin to replace the mysteries, and particularly the *wheeling lawyer*, contain excellent comic strokes. French poetry is revealed in the works of *Villon* (1431–1500), and of *Charles of Orleans*, long a prisoner, and in whose complaints there is a touching grace.

347. *Spanish Literature*.—The Spanish language, issuing from the Latin much more directly than the French, and happily modified by the influence of Arabic civilization, attains also much sooner to its full perfection; and already, from the thirteenth century, we find in it that broad and noble harmony, that grand and pompous character, which harmonizes so well with the genius of the people. Its oldest monument is the *Romancero* of the *Cid*, like the *Iliad*, the production of the genius of several poets, faithful organs of national traditions. It is the hymn of Christian Spain, enthusiastic for

the exploits of her hero against the infidels. Some dramatic and pious legends prepare the way in the following century for the great works of Spanish literature—the works of Lopez de Vega and Calderon. Castilian prose proved itself worthy of Castilian poetry in the writings of the historian *Ayala*, who may be compared with Commynes for the justice and depth of his views, and to Froissart for the charms of his narrative.

348. *Italian Literature.—Dante.—Petrarch.—Boccaccio.*—But in spite of the rising splendor of Spanish literature, it is still Italy that stands at the head of European civilization. For several centuries, Italy seemed to have confined herself to her classic recollections, and the language of Rome. Suddenly, the national language manifested itself in a work of such wonderful power, as to make men doubt whether the modern Italian, instead of having been formed from the wreck of the Latin, was not the ancient common language of the Peninsula, existing from the oldest times at the side of the language of the learned, and preserved with little alteration through the middle ages. The *Divina Comedia* of *Dante Alighieri* (1265–1321) is the glory of Italian or rather of modern poetry. Dante was the Homer of the middle ages, resembling him by the boldness and originality of his genius, the lively and complete picture of manners, belief, and the whole life of a period of religious conviction. This is the glory of Dante, as it had been Homer's glory, to revive the heroic age and rude population of primitive Greece. Dante's poem is the encyclopedia of the middle ages. Literature, science, theology, astronomy, all ages, all people, find a place there. An enthusiastic lover of liberty, and exiled from Florence by his political enemies, the Guelphs, Dante avenges himself by placing them in hell among the tyrants of all ages; and yet so great was his sense of justice, that few have dared to appeal from his decision.

In the following century (1304–1374) *Petrarch*, orator, philosopher, moralist, celebrated among his contemporaries for his profound learning and his Latin poems, won at the same time a more enduring reputation by his sonnets and his odes, which paint the most delicate shades of passion with an indescribable grace, and breathe the spirit of pure and devoted patriotism. The *Canzoniere*, or general collection of his sonnets and odes, contributed no less than the *Divina Comedia* to give a decided form to the language.

Italian prose was formed in the writings of *Dino Compagni* (1265–1323), who wrote the history of Florence from 1280 to 1312, in a style of concise and energetic elegance and simplicity which has never been surpassed; of *Villani* (d. 1348), a grave historian, exact narrator, and intelligent judge of men and events; and of *Cavalca*, *Bartolomeo da San Concordio*, and above all, of *Boccaccio* (1313–1375), who, formed like Dante and Petrarch by the study of the ancients, wrote with a richness and splendor, and graceful variety of language and style, which have made his *Decameron* the textbook of every student of that noble tongue.

349. *English Literature*.—English literature seems to form the transition between the North and the South, the Roman and the Germanic world. After the Norman invasion, the Romance language, which had been carried over by the conquerors, prevailed by right of conquest throughout England. But by degrees the ancient Saxon rose again, altered but unchanged in its nature by the influence of the Norman, and in the end the national language triumphed over the language of the conqueror. Its first work is the narrative of the adventures and exploits of *Robin Hood*, the poetical personification of the Saxon race, the hero of the contest between the conquerors and the conquered. But its progress at first was slow, and its *minstrels* of the thirteenth century were greatly inferior to the troubadours and trouveres.



It was not till the fourteenth century, that a great poet appeared. *Chaucer* (1328-1415) was distinguished by the artlessness and pungency of his style, and his richness and originality of expression.

350. *Slavonic and Scandinavian Literature*.—Germany, which Roman civilization had scarcely touched, and which, during the first years of the middle ages, and even under Charlemagne, exerted so strong an influence upon France, had resumed in the tenth century the almost exclusive use of the *Tudesque*, and its literature, if we except the Latin works of its learned men, resembles that of the North much more than that of the South. We have observed the numerous analogies which exist between the religions, warlike customs, and wandering habits of the Saxons, Danes, Germans, and Scandinavians. The agitated life and the belief of these people appear with equal inspiration in great national poems. The monuments of Scandinavian literature are : the famous book of the *Edda* (grandmother), a collection of the old traditions of northern mythology ; the *Sagas*, narratives of the events of the olden time, mingled with fables and patriotic hymns to the glory of heroes, and the most celebrated sea-kings ; and the *Runes*, magical inscriptions preserved in indelible characters on sacred stones. The characteristics of these different classes of works are almost all united, though in a calmer and nobler tone, in the great poem of the *Nibelungen*. There we find all the artless histories, all the warlike songs, which the inhabitants of that land of war and revery loved to hear from the harps of their *Minnesingers*. It is a curious assemblage of the myths of Odin and the legends of Christianity, and of the historic annals of several centuries, beginning from the invasion of Attila, all concurring in the development of the same drama, by turns pleasing and terrible, mingled with simple and touching descriptions, with tales of bloody combats and frightful revenge. It is an animated picture of the

political and private life of Germany during the long period of the invasion of the eastern tribes and the Sclavonians.

Russia herself, that isolated and savage region, was not without a literature. A monk of Kiev, *Nestor* (1056–1116), wrote in Sclavonic a chronicle filled with precious documents, and which was continued after his death by the monks of his order. A translation of the Scriptures appeared at the same period, and some warlike songs mark the first essays of national poetry.

351. *Greek Literature*.—While this young literature was rising amid a new people, an old literature still lived with an old nation on the eastern extremity of Europe. The Greek language produced numerous works which, if they do not reveal a great genius, reveal at least great intellectual activity, sustained by theological controversies and the study of history. We will cite for the ninth century the celebrated *Photius*, whose works display immense learning; for the tenth, the Emperor *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, who wrote the life of his grandfather Basil; *Simeon Metaphrastes*, the first of those oriental hagiographs, whose misdirected piety has filled with fables the lives of saints; the grammarian *Suidas*; and *Stobæus*, a philologist, full of science and sagacity. After a century of barrenness, *Zonaras* (12th cent.), writes a universal history, some parts of which display real talent. *Nicephoras Briennes*, historiographer of the family of the Comnenes, and the princess *Anna Comnenes* (towards 1132), the pretending but sometimes elegant author of the *Alexiad*, narrate the events of contemporary history. At the same time, appears *Eustathius's* learned commentary upon Homer. But as the empire advances towards its fall, literature decreases and becomes sterile. Bad taste and affectation are the general characteristics of the historical works which abound in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It is hardly worth while to mention even the names of the annalists *Nicetas* and

*John Catacrucene.* At last, the taking of Constantinople puts an end to this series of obscure writers, and Greek literature falls with the empire of the East.

### § III.

#### ARTS AND SCIENCES.

352. *Roman and Byzantine Architecture.*—The history of art in the middle ages is almost exclusively the history of architecture, which receives an astonishing development under the influence of Christian ideas. From the fourth to the twelfth century, Roman and Byzantine architecture prevailed almost exclusively, distinguished—the first, by an austere simplicity; the second, by a profusion of ornament. The Christian idea had already created a symbolical type for all the monuments of worship. The interior of a church presents the form of a cross; the *apsis*, or circle of the choir, indicating the place of the Saviour's head; the chapels that surround it, the rays of glory, &c.

During the disorders which followed the reign of Charlemagne, art like literature fell to decay. Europe, a prey to that frightful chaos which seemed to presage the end of the world, did not awake from its lethargy till it had passed that famous year 1000, to which all had been looking forward with such dread. "But instantly," says the monk of Cluny, "the Christians resumed courage, and one would have said that the whole world, throwing off by common agreement the rags of antiquity, had put on the white garments of the Church." Then were founded or rebuilt the churches of Dijon, Rheims, Tours, Cambrai, Limoges, Poitiers, and numerous other cities. Then rose, too, the celebrated abbey of Cluny, one of the most curious monuments of this epoch.

Then, also, was developed in all its splendor that elegant architecture of the Arabs, with its slender minarets curiously terminating in a ball or swollen cone, with its slim and delicate columns, and its walls overloaded with ornaments and glittering with marble and stucco, and sometimes even incrustured with gold, and jewels, and precious mosaics.

353. *Ogival or Pointed Architecture.*—*Master-pieces of Religious Art.*—In the twelfth century, a revolution took place in religious architecture. The curves were gradually lengthened, the columns drawn out and extended, as if to soar toward heaven. The ogive, or pointed arch, replaces the semi-circle of the Roman and Byzantine schools. Whether the pointed arch was found in germ in the catacombs, or arose from the combination of the arcs of the Roman curve—whether it appears in some of the monuments of the Ostrogoths, or was subjected to the influence of the Arabic style, from which, however, it certainly did not arise—or whether, in fine, it was the spontaneous product of the studies of western architects, it is none the less certain that it harmonized marvellously with the wants of a spiritual worship. All the magnificence of Christianity, all the sublimity of its dogmas, are manifested in those cathedrals where genius built ideas with stones, where all the glories of heaven seemed to be reflected through symbolic glass—gigantic creations, the mere conception of which terrifies the imagination, while the execution reveals a power of faith, of patience, of self-devotion, and of boldness, which do not belong to modern times. The building of a cathedral reveals perhaps full as much as a crusade, and in all its artless beauty, the religious enthusiasm of the middle ages. “You see nobles, accustomed to a voluptuous life, tie themselves to a car and draw stones, lime, wood, and all the materials necessary for the sacred edifice. Sometimes, the weight is so great that a thousand persons, men and women, are dragging at the same car,

and yet not a murmur is heard, and profound silence reigns throughout the multitude. When they stop on the road they speak only of their sins, which they confess with tears and prayers; and then the priest exhorts them to stifle their animosities, to forgive their debtors, and if there is any one so hardened as to refuse, he is instantly loosened from the car and driven from the holy company." (Letter of Henrion, Abbe of St. Pierre.) Thus arose those admirable monuments which are spread over France, England, and Germany; Notre Dame and the Holy Chapel at Paris; the cathedrals of Rheims, Bourges, Rouen, Chartres, Strasburg, Cologne, Westminster. The workmen were the believers of every class; the artists who decorated them were poor monks, who passed their lives in obscurity cutting a bas-relief or a column; the architects, men of wonderful genius, but still more wonderful humility and self-denial, for scarcely any of them have left their names to posterity. The Gothic cathedrals resemble those great national poems, which seem to have sprung from the people themselves and embody their traditions.

Ogival architecture begins to be corrupted towards the fifteenth century. Its symbolical character becomes degraded, and wanders from the religious idea. The artists, heirs of the *trouveres* rather than of the pious builders of the thirteenth century, give full career to their satiric impulse, without respecting the holiness of the edifice; and often, under their malignant chisel, a saint is replaced by a monk muffled up in the skin of an animal. This decay announces a new revolution. Science soon gives place to a cold monotony, and architecture, which during the middle ages had been the writing of the human race, seems to lose its power of expression, just when the art of printing comes to offer new resources to thought.

354. *Painting and Sculpture.*—Painting, if we except

that, the wonderful colors of which have been preserved on glass, served for several centuries for little else than to furnish churches with ornaments wholly unworthy of their magnificence. It was not till the thirteenth century that the Italian *Cimabue* began to render drawing more correct, and turn to account the gradations of light and shade. The figures of *Giotto* (1266–1336), much superior to those of his master, are characterized by truth and grace. He was the true precursor of the great Italian school, and the frescoes of the Campo Santo of Pisa, a curious museum of this epoch, announce the revival of art. *Spinello of Arezzo* painted faces with so much energy, that he was said to have died of fright before a picture of the devil of his own painting. *Masaccio* studied foreshortening with success, and died very young, leaving works which *Michael Angelo* and *Raphael* thought worthy of imitation and study. The *Speculum Majus*, a vast collection in which *Vincent of Beauvais* (13th cent.) sums up all the sciences which were taught in his times, reveals also their weakness and imperfection. But still the invention of oil painting (1427) prepared the way for the master-pieces of the sixteenth century.

The progress of sculpture was more rapid than that of painting. Amid a crowd of incorrect productions, some figures of an admirable expression already adorn the old cathedrals. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, *Andrea of Pisa* distinguished himself by magnificent works, the most celebrated of which is the door of the baptistery of St. John of Florence. *Balducci* and *Verrocchio* follow his steps, and soon *Donatello* (1383–1466) attained a degree of perfection which was hardly surpassed by his glorious successors.

355. *Sacred Music*.—Music, which in the first half of the middle ages was exclusively consecrated to divine service, preserved the noble gravity of the Gregorian chant. But soon the crusaders heard with rapture the delicious

sounds which the Arabs drew from the lute, the organ, the flute, and the mandolin. The troubadours learnt to accompany themselves on the harp. Towards the beginning of the twelfth century, *Guido of Arezzo* gives the tones of the gamut the names which they still bear, and publishes a system of the principles of music, which in spite of the remonstrances of the popes, gradually loses its austere simplicity even in religious chants. Counter-point began from that time to take the place of the majestic gravity of the plain chant.

356. *Sciences.*—*Principal Inventions and Discoveries.*—The history of the sciences is less fertile than that of the arts. Florence founded the first academy of painting in the middle of the fourteenth century. Mechanics, so essential to architecture, seem to have made very rapid progress. In the tenth century, Gerbertus knew how to regulate clocks of his own construction by the stars, and make an organ play by steam. In the thirteenth century, Albertus Magnus was said to have constructed a human figure which went and opened the door whenever any body knocked. Algebra also owes much to Gerbertus, who is said to have been the inventor of decimal numeration, and particularly to *Leonardo Fibonacci*, whose works long enjoyed a great reputation. Some medical studies flourished among the Arabs, and in convents; but being deprived of the aid of observation and experiment, they were mixed up with the reveries of alchymy and astrology. Indeed, it is not till the end of the thirteenth century that we can discern a real progress in science.

Then appeared *Roger Bacon* (1214–1292), a man superior to his age, who, in the sterile search of the *great secret*, discovered the art of distillation, and pointed out the true scientific method. In the fourteenth century, the restoration of anatomical studies by *Mondini dei Luzzi* (1315) pointed out a new career to medicine. Chemistry, in the hands of the celebrated *Raymond Lulle* (towards 1315),

was still confounded with alchemy. The invention of spectacles by the Florentine *Salvino* (1286), was one of the useful discoveries of the same period. The composition of gunpowder, long employed by the Chinese, was known to Roger Bacon, and the application of it prepared a great change in the art of war. Wood engraving, applied to cards, led to a discovery of infinitely higher importance. In the first half of the fifteenth century (1436-1440) *John Gutenberg*, of Mayence, invented at Strasburg the art of printing with movable type, and the communication and perpetuation of knowledge were secured for ever. Finally, the compass, that wonderful application of the magnetized needle to navigation, by supplying the means of making long voyages, opened the way for the expeditions of the Portuguese and the discovery of America.

#### § IV.

##### COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY.

357. *Foreign and Domestic Commerce.—Traffic of the Jews and Lombards.*—One of the principal results of these great voyages by sea was the new impulse which they gave to commerce. We have indicated the principal developments of maritime and international commerce in the middle ages, in speaking of the Italian republics and Hanseatic cities. We will now add a few words concerning domestic commerce and the organization of industry. The political unity established by Charlemagne in a great part of Europe, and the guarantees of order and tranquillity which the new empire seemed to give, promised a prompt and easy progress to all the elements of civilization. At the first opening of the great fair at Aix-la-Chapelle, Anglo-Saxons brought tin and



lead from England; Slavonians brought metals from the North; Lombards, silks from Constantinople; Spaniards, merchandise from Africa; and Frenchmen, woollens from Lyons, Tours, and Arles. Charlemagne even attempted to establish uniform weights and measures. But no sooner was he dead than feudalism came to annihilate the results of all his efforts. The nobles rendered commerce impossible, by plundering and taxing the merchants who crossed their domains, and all the business of Europe fell into the hands of the Jews, who were willing for the love of gain to brave every species of danger and vexation. Clothes, linen, hardware, jewels, and ornaments from the East, were transported on mules from city to city, from town to town. The carriers, in possession of an undisputed monopoly, realized enormous profits, when they were not plundered, and triumphed by their tenacity over every obstacle. Objects of universal reprobation, and often exposed to terrible persecutions, the Jews still gained a great importance by their commercial superiority, and kings, who drew from them abundant contributions, protected them against the hatred of the people. These indefatigable speculators succeeded in introducing a remarkable regularity into their operations. It is to those that we owe the invention of bills of exchange. A redoubtable rivalry rose up against the Jews when the crusades, developing with astonishing rapidity the power of the maritime republics, had enriched Italy with a great quantity of oriental merchandise. Lombard pedlars spread all over Europe, and more skilful even than the Jews, succeeded in supplanting them. It was then that the latter, abandoning their old trade, devoted themselves exclusively to traffic in money. They absorbed the greater part of the specie in circulation, and exercised over Europe a real fiscal tyranny, which withstood the severest restraints, and only yielded to the progress of industry.

358. *Progress and Organization of Industry.*—Industry, like every thing else in the social system, was subjected to that universal necessity which produced feudality, the necessity of a particular, in the absence of a general organization. While the commons were organizing themselves against the tyranny of the nobles, artisans sought security and protection by uniting in regular associations called *brotherhoods* or *corporations*, and which were established as much for the good of the buyer, exposed to the fraud of the manufacturer, as for that of the artisan himself. In France, the provost of Paris, Stephen Boileau, was intrusted by St. Lewis with the carrying out of this great conception. From this time, the *Book of Trades* marks out more than a hundred and fifty different professions, a proof of the importance which industry had already acquired in large cities. The corporations, which every where increased with the communities, soon acquired a remarkable development and regularity. No one could be admitted till he had served his *apprenticeship*, and proved his skill by a *master-piece* (*chef d'œuvre*). The institutions of censorship, called *wardenships*, enforced the regulations of the society and the hierarchy of the members. Every trade was under the protection of a saint, and had a banner under which the whole brotherhood marched to the aid of an injured member, or sometimes even joined the national army for the defence of the country. In several countries of Europe, and especially in Flanders, corporations became redoubtable political powers. Like many other institutions, they were the result of peculiar circumstances, and falling when those circumstances changed, showed that they derived their usefulness and strength from transient causes rather than from any general and permanent principles.



# SYNCHRONITIC TABLE

OF THE

## HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

A.D.	HISTORY OF RELIGION.	FRANCE AND ENGLAND.	EUROPE, ASIA & AFRICA.
395		Several Frank tribes are already established on the left bank of the Rhine.	The Goths are already established in the Empire. Arcadius emperor of the East, Honorius of the West. Alaric invades Greece.
398	Saint Anastasius.		Alaric in Italy.
401			
402	St. Innocent.		
406		Invasion of Gaul by the Suevi, Alani, Vandals, and Burgundians.	Invasion of Italy by Rhadagaisus.
410			
412		Foundation of the kingdom of the Visigoths by Attilaphus.	Taking of Rome by Alaric.
413		Foundation of the kingdom of the Burgundians.	
418	St. Boniface.	Supposed beginning of the kingdom of the Franks.	
427		Chlodian chief of the Franks.	
429			Generis leads the Vandals into Africa.
431	Council of Ephesus, which condemns the Pelagians and Nestorians.		
432	St. Sixtus III.	Incursion of Chlodian into Gaul.	
440			
448	St. Leo the Great.	Merovæus—Great Britain invaded by the Saxons.	Kingdom of Carthage.
450		Foundation of the kingdom of Kent.	
451	Council of Calcedonia against the Eutychians.	Attila conquered at the battle of Châlons.	
453			
476			Invasion of Italy by Attila. Fall of the Western empire. Odoacer king of Italy.
481		Accession of Clovis.	

A.D.	HISTORY OF RELIGION.	FRANCE AND ENGLAND.	EUROPE, ASIA & AFRICA.
483	St. Felix III.		
486	St. Gelasius.	Victory of Soissons.	
492			Foundation of the kingdom of the Ostrogoths in Italy by Theodoric.
493			
496	Conversion of Clovis and the Franks.	Battle of Tolbiac.	
496	Symmachus.		
507		Battle of Vouglé.	The Visigoths driven back into Spain.
511		Death of Clovis. Division of the kingdom.	
514	Hormisdas.		
523	John I.	War against the Burgundians.	
527			Accession of Justinian.
530	Boniface II.		Code of Justinian. War against the Persians.
534		End of the kingdom of Burgundy.	End of the kingdom of the Vandals. War against the Goths.
540			New war against the Persians.
547		Invasion of England by the Angles.	
553	Council of Constantinople.		
564			Narses destroys the kingdom of the Ostrogoths.
566		Clothaire I. sole king of the Franks.	
561		Second division between the sons of Clovis.	
568		Rivalry of Fredegund and Burnechild.	Foundation of the kingdom of the Lombards by Alboin.
569			Birth of Mahomet.
594		Anglo-Saxon heptarchy.	
597		Treaty of Andelot. Hereditary benefices in Austrasia.	
590	Saint Gregory the Great.		
	Christianity introduced into England.		
604	Sabinian.		Success of Chosroes II. against the Empire of the East.
613		Clothaire II. sole king of the Franks.	Reverses of Heraclius, emperor of the East.
615	St. Deusdedit.	Benefices made hereditary in Neustria, and then in Burgundy.	Taking of Jerusalem by the Persians.
622			Flight of Mahomet from Mecca, or the Hegira. His doctrine spreads in Arabia.
628		Dagobert I., king of the Franks.	
632			Death of Mahomet. Abu-Beker, first caliph, publishes the Koran.
634			Omar second caliph.
638		Third division of the monarchy.	Conquest of Syria by the Mussulmen. Conquest of Egypt by Amru.

A.D.	HISTORY OF RELIGION.	FRANCE AND ENGLAND.	EUROPE, ASIA & AFRICA.
640	Severinus. John IV.	Power of the mayors of the palace under the faint-hearted kings.	Othman caliph.
649	Martin I.		Conquest of Persia by the Mussulmen.
657			Dynasty of the Ommyads.
660			Mohaviah.
676	Donus I.		Siege of Constantinople by the Arabs.
678	Agathon.	Power of the mayors Pepin of Heristal, Martin, Ebrouin.	Peace with the Empire of the East.
681	Council of Constantinople against the Monothelites.		
687	Sergius.	Battle of Testry. Pepin sole mayor of all France.	Conquests of the Arabs in Africa.
706	John VII.		Conquests of the Arabs in central Asia.
712			Battle of Xeres. Conquest of Spain by the Moors.
714		Charles Martel mayor of the palace.	
715	Gregory II. St. Boniface evangelizes Germany.		
721		Invasion of France by the Saracens.	
726	Edict of Leo the Iconoclast against images.		
732		Victory of Poitiers over the Saracens.	Alphonso I. king of the Asturias.
750			The dynasty of the Abbasides replaces that of the Ommyads.
752	Stephen II.	Pepin the Short chosen king of France and consecrated at Soissons by St. Boniface.	
756			The pope put in possession of the exarchate of Ravenna by Pepin the Short. Caliphate of Cordova founded by Abderrame, a descendant of the Ommyad caliphs.
759		Narbonne taken from the Arabs: Pepin master of all Gaul.	
771		Charlemagne unites the kingdom of the Franks under one crown.	
774			End of the kingdom of the Lombards. The Franks masters of Italy and the city of Rome: patriat of Charlemagne.
778			Conquest of Spain between the Pyrenees and the Ebro by the Franks.
786		New wars in Saxony.	Accession of Haroun-al-Raschid.
787	Second council of Nice, which condemns the Iconoclasts.		Exploits of Alphonso the Chaste, king of Asturia.

A.D.	HISTORY OF ENGLAND.	FRANCE AND ENGLAND.	EUROPE, ASIA & AFRICA.
793		First invasion of England by the Danes.	
795	Lee III.		Beginning of the maritime incursions of the Normans.
796			Destruction of the kingdom of the Avars by Charlemagne: Pannonia passes under the dominion of the Franks.
800		Charlemagne crowned emperor of the West.	
803			Peace of Salza: the Saxons submit to Charlemagne and embrace Christianity.
814		Death of Charlemagne: Lewis the Debonnaire emperor.	
827		End of the English heptarchy: Egbert the Great king of all England.	
843		Peace of Verdun. Division of the empire of the Franks. Origin of the kingdom of France under Charles the Bold.	Origin of the kingdom of Germany under Lewis the Germanic.
850			Foundation of the Russian monarchy by Rurik the Normand.
855			Origin of the kingdom of Lorraine under Lothaire II.
858			Origin of the kingdom of Navarre under Don Garcia.
871		Alfred king of England.	
874			Foundation of the republic of Iceland by the Normans.
877	Photius re-established at Constantinople.	Capitulary of Kiersy: hereditary feudal system arises in France under Charles the Bald.	
879		Origin of the kingdom of Cisjuran Burgundy under Boson.	
880	Schism between the Latins and Greeks.		
887		Deposition of Charles the Fat at the diet of Tribur. Eudes.	Arnolph of Carinthia king of Germany. The Germans make their crown elective. Contest of Guido and Berengarius in Italy. Arrival of the Hungarians on the Danube under Almus and Arpad.
888		Final dismemberment of the empire of the Franks.	Italy becomes a separate kingdom. Origin of the kingdom of Transjuran Burgundy under Rodolph.
894			Borgiwoy first Christian duke of Bohemia.

A.D.	HISTORY OF RELIGION.	FRANCE AND ENGLAND.	EUROPE, ASIA & AFRICA.
896			Zwentibold king of Lorraine.
900			Dismemberment of the Moravian kingdom by the Hungarians, who make also the conquest of Pannonia. Origin of modern Hungary.
908			Foundation of the caliphate of the Fatimites in Africa and Egypt.
911		Charles the Simple, king of France, seizes the kingdom of Lorraine.	Conrad of Franconia.
912		Treaty of St. Clair on the Epte: Rollo, the chief of the Normands, made duke of Normandy under the name of Robert I.	
919			Accession of the Saxon dynasty of kings of Germany.
924			Interruption of the imperial dignity in the West on the death of Berengarius I., king of Italy and emperor.
925			Reunion of the kingdom of Lorraine by Henry I., king of Germany.
930		Kingdom of Arles and of Provence. Cis-Juran and Trans-Juran Burgundy reunited by Rudolph II.	
932			Defeat of the Hungarians near Merseburg by Henry I., king of Germany.
961			Reunion of the kingdom of Italy by Otto the Great, king of Germany.
962			Renewal of the imperial dignity by Otto: origin of the empire of Germany.
965	Harald-Blaatand, king of Denmark, receives baptism.		
966	Miczyslaw I., duke of Poland, receives Christianity.		
968			Conquest of Egypt by the Fatimites.
972		The Saracens entirely driven from France.	
987		Hugh Capet king of France —accession of the Capetian dynasty.	
988	Vladimir the Great, grand-duke of Russia, embraces Christianity.		
994	Conversion of Geysa or Vaic, prince of the Hungarians.		
996			The Christians persecuted in the East by the Fatimites.



A.D.	HISTORY OF BELGIUM.	FRANCE AND ENGLAND.	RUSSIA, ASIA & AFRICA.
987			Beginning of the maritime power of Venice.
999	Sylvester II. (Gerbertus).		
1000			Stephen I., first king of Germany, crowned with the Angelic crown.
1004	Olaus Skötkonung, first king of Sweden, embraces Christianity.		
1014			Canute the Great, king of Denmark.
1015			Death of Vladimir the Great: beginning of divisions in Russia.
1018		Conquest of England by Canute the Great.	
1024			Accession of the dynasty of the emperors of the Salic family. Expedition of the French Normans into Italy.
1020			Dismemberment of the caliphate of Cordova: decay of the Mahometans in Spain.
1022			Reunion of the kingdom of Burgundy by the emperor Conrad II.
1035			Division of the states of Sancho the Great into the kingdoms of Navarre, Castile, and Aragon.
1036			Foundation of the empire of the Seljuk Turks by Toghrulbeg.
1042			The Danes expelled from England.
1043			Annexation of Pannonia as far as the Leytha by the emperor, Henry III.—Power of Germany.
1048			Gerard of Alsatia first hereditary duke of the Mosellan Lorraine and founder of the house of Lorraine.
1059			Robert Guiscard, duke of Appulia and Calabria, becomes the vassal of the Holy See.
1061			Abu-Beker, founder of the empire of the Almora-vids in northern Africa.
1066		Oct. 14, battle of Hastings. Conquest of England by William of Normandy.	Tournaments first known.
1069			Yousouf, sovereign of the Almora-vids, builds Morocco.
1071			The Greeks stripped of a part of Asia Minor by the Seljuk Turks. Guelph, founder of the house of Brunswick, made duke of Bavaria.

A.D.	HISTORY OF RELIGION.	FRANCE AND ENGLAND.	EUROPE, ASIA & AFRICA.
1073	Gregory VII. (Hilbebrand) chosen pope and confirmed by the emperor.		
1074	He forbids investiture by laymen and the marriage of the clergy. Origin of the new power of the popes.		Decline of Germany. Rise of the hereditary feudal system in the empire. Origin of the house of Baden from the dukes of Zaringua.
1075			Conquest of Palestine by the Seljuk Turks.
1076			The emperor Henry IV. deposed by Gregory VII. War between the church and empire.
1080	Foundation of the order of Carthusians. Multiplication of the religious orders.		
1081			Dynasty of the Comneni at Constantinople.
1086	Victor III.		Alphonso VI., king of Castile, takes Toledo and Madrid from the Moors. The Almoravids of Africa invade Spain.
1087		First war between France and England: beginning of the rivalry between the two nations.	
1092			Dismemberment of the empire of the Seljuk Turks into four sultanates.
1094			Henry of Burgundy, of the house of France, made count of Portugal.
1096	Council of Clermont.	The pope preaches the first crusade in France.	
1096			Crusade of Godfrey of Bouillon.
1099			Foundation of the kingdom of Jerusalem by Godfrey of Bouillon.
1100			Foundation of the order of St. John of Jerusalem.
1106			The cities of Italy begin to form republics. Origin of communities.
1108		Lewis VI. the Fat. Increase of communities.	
1116			Revival of the Roman law in Italy. Increase of the ecclesiastical state by the inheritance of the countess Matilda.
1119	Calixtus II.	War between France and England. Battle of Breneville.	Foundation of the order of Templars.
1120			Origin of the empire of the Almohads, conquerors of Africa and Mahometan Spain.
1122	Concordate of Worms.		End of the war of investitures.

A.D.	HISTORY OF ENGLAND.	FRANCE AND ENGLAND.	EUROPE, ASIA & AFRICA.
1127			The dukes of Zaringua created regents of the kingdom of Burgundy. Foundation of the kingdom of the "Two Sicilies."
1130	Innocent II. Efforts of the pope to establish the Truce of God.		
1131		St. Bernard at the council of Rheims.	
1136			Henry the Proud, duke of Bavaria, annexes the duchy of Saxony.
1138			Accession of the house of Hohenstaufen to the throne of the empire. Guelphs and Ghibellines. Beginning of the divisions of Poland at the death of Boleslas III.
1139	General council of the Vatican.		July 24, battle of Ourica: Alphonso I., son of Count Henry, proclaimed king of Portugal.
1142		Sack of Vitry in Champagne.	Alphonso I., king of Portugal, becomes vassal and tributary of the pope.
1147		St. Bernard preaches the second crusade.	Crusade of the emperor Conrad III. & Lewis VII., king of France, against the Atabek Zenghi.
1152		Eleanor of Poitou, heiress of Aquitania, Gascony, Poitou, &c., repudiated by Lewis VII., marries Henry Plantagenet, count of Anjou.	
1154		Henry II. king of England. Accession of the Plantagenets.	
1156			Austria, from a margraviat made a duchy by the emperor Frederic II.
1157			Conquest of Finland by the Swedes. Albert the Bear, margrave of the North, takes possession of the city of Brandenburg: beginning of this margraviat. Andrew Juriewitch, great duke of Russia, establishes his residence at Vladimir on the Kliasma. Political schism of Russia.
1158			Discovery of Livonia by some merchants of Bremen.
1164			Sardinia formed into a kingdom by the emperor Frederic I.
1167			League of the cities of Lombardy against the emperor Frederic I.
1171			Saladin conquers Egypt and founds the rule of the Ayyoubite sultans.

A.D.	HISTORY OF RELIGION.	FRANCE AND ENGLAND.	EUROPE, ASIA & AFRICA.
1172		Conquest of Ireland by Henry II, king of England.	
1177			Peace of Venice: Frederic I. renounces the prefecture of Rome: the Venetians claim the control of the Adriatic.
1183			Peace of Constance, which secures the independence of the Lombard cities under the suzerainty of the emperor.
1187	Gregory VIII. Clement III.		Destruction of the kingdom of Jerusalem by Saladin.
1189			Crusade of Frederic I. of Germany, Philip Augustus of France, and Richard Coeur-de-Lion of England. Accession of the house of Hohenstaufen to the throne of the Two Sicilies.
1190			Foundation of the Teutonic order.
1191	Celestin III.		Seige and taking of Ptolemais by the crusaders.
1192			Guido of Lusignan made king of Cyprus by Richard of England.
1193	Innocent III. Inquisition.		Bohemia formed into a kingdom.
1200			First mention of the compass. The University of Paris formed into four faculties: origin of universities. Foundation of the city of Riga by Bishop Albert of Livonia.
1201			Foundation of the order of the knights " <i>Bear the Sword</i> " in Livonia.
1202			Fourth great crusade under Boniface, marquis of Montferrat.
1204		The English stripped of Normandy, &c., by Philip Augustus of France. Commission established in Languedoc to judge heretics: origin of the inquisition.	Constantinople taken by the crusaders: dismemberment of the Greek empire: foundation of the Latin empire of Constantinople, and the Greek empires of Nice and Trebizond. Don Pedro II., king of Aragon, becomes vassal of the pope.
1206			Genghis-Khan: foundation of the great empire of the Moguls.
1212			Battle of Ubeda: defeat and fall of the Almohads of Africa.
1213		John Lackland acknowledges himself vassal of the pope.	

A.D.	HISTORY OF RELIGION.	FRANCE AND ENGLAND.	EUROPE, ASIA & AFRICA.
1213		Battle of Bouvines won by Philip Augustus.	
1215	Council of the Latuan against the Albigenses.	Magna Charta.	The palatinate of the Rhine enters into the house of Wittelsbach.
1217			Crusade of Andrew II., king of Hungary.
1218			Extinction of the duked of Zaringia: Switzerland becomes an immediate province of the empire.
1222			Charter or decree of Andrew II., basis of the Hungarian constitution.
1226			Renewal of the league of Lombardy to oppose the emperor Frederic II.
1227	Gregory IX.		Battle of Bornhoeved in Holstein: Waldemar II., king of Denmark, loses his conquests on the southern coast of the Baltic.
1228			Crusade of the emperor Frederic II.
1230			The Teutonic order establishes itself in Prussia. Conquest of the Balearic islands by the king of Aragon. Conquest of Courland by the knights of Livonia.
1235			Decretal of Gregory IX. Formation of the duchy of Brunswick in favor of the house of the Guelpha.
1236			Conquest of the kingdoms of Cordova, Murcia, and Seville by the Castilians.
1237			Conquest of Russia by Batou-Khan: origin of the Mogul or Tartar horde of Kaptchak.— Union of the order of knights "Bearers of the Sword" to the grand-mastery of the Teutonic order.
1241	Celestin IV.		Supposed beginning of the Hanseatic league. Invasion of Poland, Silesia, and Hungary by the Moguls.
1248			Crusade of St. Lewis, king of France.
1250			Beginning of the great interregnum in Germany.
1254	Alexander V.		Accession of the emperors of different houses in Germany. End of the dominion of the Agubites in Egypt and Syria: beginning of the empire of the Mamelukes.
1256			Enfranchisement of the serfs at Bologna in Italy.

A.D.	HISTORY OF RELIGION.	FRANCE AND ENGLAND.	EUROPE, ASIA & AFRICA.
1261	Urban IV.		Michel Paleologus, emperor of Nice, takes Constantinople: end of the empire of the Latins.
1266	Clement IV.		First general reserve by Clement IV. of the livings falling vacant at the court of Rome by the death of the beneficiary. Accession of the house of Anjou to the throne of the Two Sicilies.
1266		Admission of the commons to the parliament of England.	
1268			Corradino decapitated at Naples: extinction of the house of Hohenstaufen. — Suabia and Franconia become immediate provinces of the empire.
1271	Gregory X.		The county of Thoulouse passes to the king of France, and the Venaisin to the pope.
1273			Accession of the emperor Rodolph of Hapsburg to the throne of the empire: first election by the seven electors.
1282		Conquest of Wales by the king of England.	The Sicilian Vespers: the kingdom of Sicily passes to the king of Aragon. — The emperor Rodolph gives to his sons the investiture of the duchies of Austria: foundation of the house of Hapsburg of Austria.
1283			The Teutonic order completes the conquest of Prussia.
1289			Extinction of the male line of the old race of Scotch kings. Contest of Baliol and Bruce.
1290			Decline of the republic of Pisa. Aggrandizement of that of Genoa.
1291			Taking of Ptolemais and Tyre by the Mamelukes. End of the crusades.
1294	Celestin V. Boniface VIII.		Decline of the Mogul empire at the death of Kublai-Khan.
1298			Introduction of an hereditary aristocracy at Venice.
1300	Foundation of the jubilee.		Foundation of the modern Turkish empire by Othoman I.
1301			End of the male line of the old kings of Hungary with Andrew III.: accession of the Angevins of Naples.

A.D.	HISTORY OF ENGLAND.	FRANCE AND HUNGARY.	EUROPE, ASIA & AFRICA.
1203	Benedict XI.	Admission of the "Third Estate" to the "States General" of France.	.
1208			Accession of the house of Luxemburg to the throne of the Empire. Origin of the Helvetic confederation.
1209			The popes remove to Avignon: fall of their authority. End of the ancient Slavonian kings of Bohemia. Accession of the house of Luxemburg to the throne of Bohemia. The cities of the empire admitted to the diet: origin of the college of the cities. Marienburg, in Prussia, becomes the chief residence of the Teutonic order.
1210			Conquest of the island of Rhodes by the knights of St. John.
1212	Council of Vienna.	The city of Lyons passes under the sovereignty of the king of France.—First dismemberment of the kingdom of Burgundy or Arica.	Suppression of the order of Templars. Cannon and gunpowder used by the Moors in Spain.
1215		Enfranchisement of the serfs of the crown by Lewis X. king of France.	League of Brunnen: basis of the federative system of the Swiss. Conquests of Matthew Visconti, lord of Milan, in upper Italy. Battle of Morgarten.
1220			Gedimir, grand-duke of Lithuania, takes possession of Kiovia. The royal dignity becomes permanent in Poland after Vladislaw Lokietek.
1222			Extinction of the electors of Brandenburg of the Ascanian family: this electorate given to Bavaria.
1226			Sardinia passes under the dominion of the kings of Aragon.
1228		Philip VI. king of France. Accession of the house of Valois.	The grand-dukes of Russia fix their residence at Moscow.
1229			Treaty of Pavia. Division of the house of Wittelsbach into the Bavarian and Palatine branches.
1236			Cession to the kings of Bohemia of the rights of suzerainty of Poland over Silesia.
1237		Edward III. of England lays claim to the crown of France.	

A.D.	HISTORY OF RELIGION.	FRANCE AND ENGLAND.	EUROPE, ASIA & AFRICA.
1338			General union of the electors of the empire. Law of Frankfort for maintaining the independence of the empire against the pope.
1340			Battle of Tariffa: defeat of the Moors of Spain and Africa by Alphonso XI. of Castile. The Poles take possession of Red Russia and of the provinces of Podolia and Volhynia.
1343			The Venetians obtain entire liberty of commerce in the ports of Egypt and Syria.
1345		First mention of gunpowder in France.	
1346		Battle of Crecy.	
1348			The city of Avignon sold to the pope by Jane I. of Naples.
1349		Humbert II., last dauphin of the Viennese, transmits Dauphiny to France	The plague spread through Europe: persecution of the Jews. Formation of the duchy of Mecklenburg.
1355			Extinction of the direct line of the old dukes of Brabant.
1356			Golden bull of the emperor Charles IV.
1360			Taking of Adrianople by Amarat I. The Turks established in Europe.
1362	John Wickliffe. Urban I.		
1363			Philip the Bold; founder of the line of new dukes of Burgundy.
1368			Destruction of the empire of the Moguls in China.
1369			Timour or Tamerlane.
1370	Gregory XI.		Flourishing condition of the Hanseatic league.—The Piast kings of Poland end with Casimir the Great: limitation of the royal power in Poland.
1371			Accession of the Stuarts to the throne of Scotland.
1373			The margraviat of Brandenburg passes from the house of Bavaria to that of Luxemburg.
1378	Great schism of the West.		
1380			Defeat of the Genoese at Chiozza: decline of Genoa. Union of Denmark and Norway. Adoption of Lewis I. of Anjou by Jane I. of Naples.



A.D.	HISTORY OF RELIGION.	FRANCE AND ENGLAND.	EUROPE, ASIA & AFRICA.
1380			Victory of the Tanaïs over the Tartars of Kaptschak by Dimitry Iwanowitsch Donskoi.
1385			Aug. 14. Battle of Aljubarrota, won by the Portuguese over the Castilians. John I., called the Bastard, ascends the throne of Portugal.
1386	Christianity introduced into Lithuania.		Jagellon, grand-duke of Lithuania, chosen king of Poland under the name of Vladislav V.
1390			Manufactory of linen paper established at Nuremberg.
1395			Milan made a duchy for the Visconti.
1396			Battle of Nicopolis by Bajazet I. The Turks masters of Bulgaria.
1397			Union of Calmar.
1399		Accession of the <i>Red Rose</i> in England. Henry IV. king.	
1400	John Huss.		
1402			Battle of Ancyra: defeat of Bajazet I. by Timour: anarchy of the Turks.
1404	Innocent III. at Rome.		The Teutonic order acquires Samogitia. Greatness of the order. Origin of the Polish diets.
1406	Gregory XII. at Rome.		Pisa passes under the dominion of Florence.
1407			Foundation of the bank of St. George of Genoa.
1409	Council of Pisa. Three popes.		
1412			Eric, the Pomeranian king of the union of the north. The kingdom of Sicily, which had long been held by a younger branch of Aragon, is annexed to Aragon.
1414	Council of Constance convoked for the extinction of the great schism and limitation of the sacerdotal power.		
1415	John Huss burnt at Constance.	Battle of Agincourt.	Taking of Ceuta by John I. of Portugal: beginning of the maritime activity of the Portuguese. the Austrians stripped of their possessions in Switzerland.
1416			Foundation of the duchy of Savoy: Amadeus VIII.
1417	End of the great schism of the West: election of Martin V.		First mention of the Bohemians or gipsies in Europe.

A.D.	HISTORY OF RELIGION.	FRANCE AND ENGLAND.	EUROPE, ASIA & AFRICA.
1417			The electorate of Brandenburg conferred upon Frederic Hohenzollern, burgrave of Nuremberg, founder of the house of Brandenburg.
1418			War of the Hussites.
1420		Peace of Troyes in Champagne: the crown of France secured to the king of England to the exclusion of the Dauphin.	Discovery of the island of Madeira by the Portuguese.
1422		Death of Henry V., king of England, and Charles VI., king of France.— <i>Charles VII. king of France.</i>	
1423			The house of Misnia replaces that of Ascania in the electorate of Saxony. Frederic I. elector, founder of the present house of Saxony.—Adoption of Lewis III. of Anjou by Jane II. of Naples.
1429		Joan of Arc. Charles VII. crowned at Rheims.	
1430			Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, acquires Brabant: power of the dukes of Burgundy. Lucca becomes again a republic.
1431	Council of Basle. Eugene IV.		
1432			Discovery of the Azores by the Portuguese. Edward king of Portugal.
1434			Vladislaw VI. king of Poland.
1435		Sept. 21. Peace of Arras between Charles VII. and the duke of Burgundy: decline of the English party in France.	Death of Jane II., last queen of Naples of the house of Anjou.
1436			Printing invented at Strasburg by John Gutenberg of Mayence.
1437	Dissolution of the council of Basle by Eugene IV.		
1438			Accession of the house of Hapsburg of Austria to the throne of the empire. Albert II. emperor. Pragmatic sanction of Bourges. Alphonso V., called the African, king of Portugal.
1439	Deposition of Eugene IV.: schism of Basle. Council of Florence. Momentary union of the Greeks and Latins.		Pragmatic sanction of Mayence. Eric the Pomeranian, king of the Union of the North, deposed.
1440			Frederic III. emperor of Germany.

A.D.	HISTORY OF RELIGION.	FRANCE AND ENGLAND.	EUROPE, ASIA & AFRICA.
1440			Christopher the Bavarian king of the Union of the North.
1442			Alphonso V., king of Aragon, seizes the kingdom of Naples. Scanderbeg (George Castriota), conqueror of the Turks.
1444			Victory of Varna by Amurat II.
1445		Establishment of standing armies in France under Charles VII.	Casimir IV. king of Poland.
1447	Roman concordate between the Germans and Eugene IV.		Accession of the Sforza to the duchy of Milan.
1448	Concordate of Vienna between Frederic III. and Nicholas V.		Accession of the house of Oldenburg to the throne of Denmark and Norway. Charles Canute (Charles VIII.) king of Sweden.
1449	End of the schism of Basle.		
1452		War of the two Roses.	Foundation of the duchy of Modena.
1453		Expulsion of the English from the whole of France except Calais.	May 29. Taking of Constantinople by Mahomet II. End of the Greek empire.

GENEALOGY OF THE MEROVINGIAN RACE.

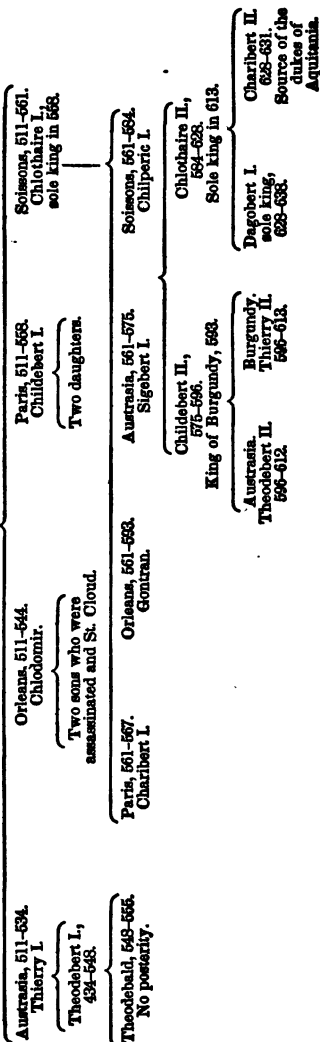
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Chlodian the Long-haired, 438-443.

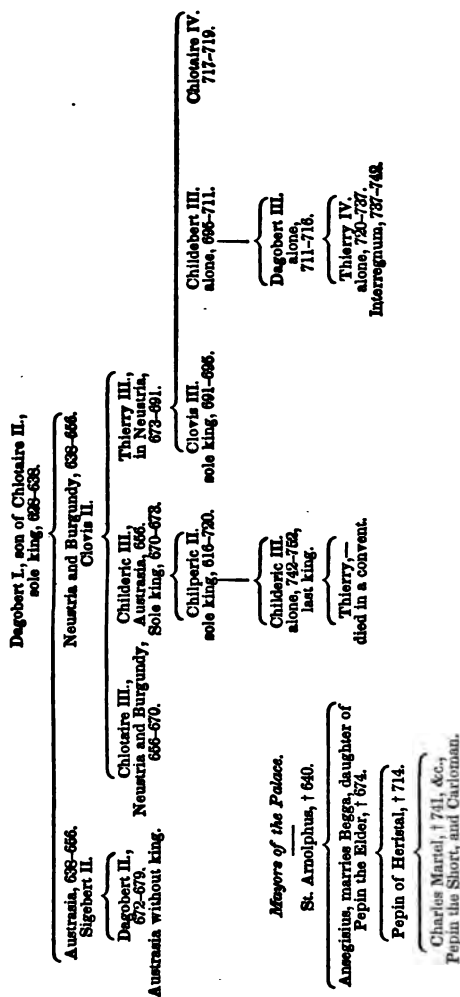
Meroveus, 443-453.

Childeric I., 453-481.

Clotvis or Chlodwig I.,  
481-511.



## GENEALOGY OF THE MEROVINGIAN RACE—(CONTINUED).



# CAROLINGIAN EMPERORS AND KINGS OF ITALY.

1.—Charlemagne or Charles I., son of *Pepin the Short*, king of the Franks, 768; of the Lombards, 774; crowned emperor at Rome, 800; † 810.

2.—Pepin king of Italy, 781, † 814.

3.—Bernard king of Italy, 810, † 818.  
*Adelaide*, who according to some married Lambert.

10.—Guido, duke of Spoleto; k. of Italy, 888; emp. 891; † 894.  
 6.—Lewis II. associated to the empire of Vermandois.

11.—Lambert *Ermenegarda* mar. emp. & k. of Ita. *Boson*, k. of Cisju. ly, 894, † 898. ran Burgundy, † 887.

13.—Lewis king of Cisjuran Burgundy, 887; of Italy, 899; emp. 901; dethroned 904. † about 908.

4.—Lewis I., called the Debonaire, 814, † 840.

5.—Lothaire associated to the empire, 817, † 855.  
 7.—Charles II. the Bold, k. of France, 840, emp. and king of Italy, 875-876, † 877.

8.—Carloman k. of Bavaria, the Young, 876; of Italy, 877; † 880.  
 9.—Charles III. the Fat, emp. & k. of Sax. & k. of Italy, 880, † 888.

12.—Arnolphus k. of Germany, 887; emp. and k. of Italy, 896-899.

15.—Hugh, count of Provence k. of Italy, 925; † about 947.  
 Lewis IV. the Child k. of Germany, 931, son of Lothaire, without posterity. 895, † 906.

17.—Lothaire II., associated in the kingdom of Italy, 931, † 969. Married *Adelaide*, daughter of King Rodolph.

15.—Rodolph king of Burgundy, chosen king of Italy against Berengarius I., 921; dethroned, 926; † 937.

Adelaide married—1. *Lothaire*, king of Italy. 2. *Otto the Great*, king of Germany.

Pepin I. k. Aquitaine, † 838.  
*Gisela* marries Everard c. 807.

Pepin II. Pretender to Aquitania. 14.—Berengarius I. d. of Friuli, k. of Italy, 888; emp. 906; † 924.

*Gisela* marries *Adelbert*, marq. of Ivrea.

18.—Berengarius II. k. of Italy, 960; dethroned by *Otto the Great*; † 966.

19.—Adelbert, king of Italy with his father.

N. B. The numbers indicate the order of succession of the kings of Italy.

# GENEALOGY OF THE CAROLINGIAN KINGS OF FRANCE.

6.—Eudes king, 858, † 868.	1.—Charles the Bald, king 840, † 879.	5.—Charles the Fat, king 885, † 888.
	2.—Lewis II. <i>the Stammerer</i> , king, 877, † 879.	
8.—Robert I. king, 922, † 923.	4.—Carloman king, 879, † 884.	9.—Raoul king, 923, † 936.
3.—Lewis III. king, 879, † 882.		7.—Charles the Simple king, 883, dethroned 923.
		10.—Lewis d'Outre-Mer king, 936, † 964.
	11.—Lothaire king, 954, † 968.	Charles, duke of lower Lorraine, excluded from the throne.
	12.—Lewis V. <i>the Fat</i> king, 963, † 967.	

## GENEALOGY OF THE CAPETIAN DYNASTY TO LEWIS THE FAT.

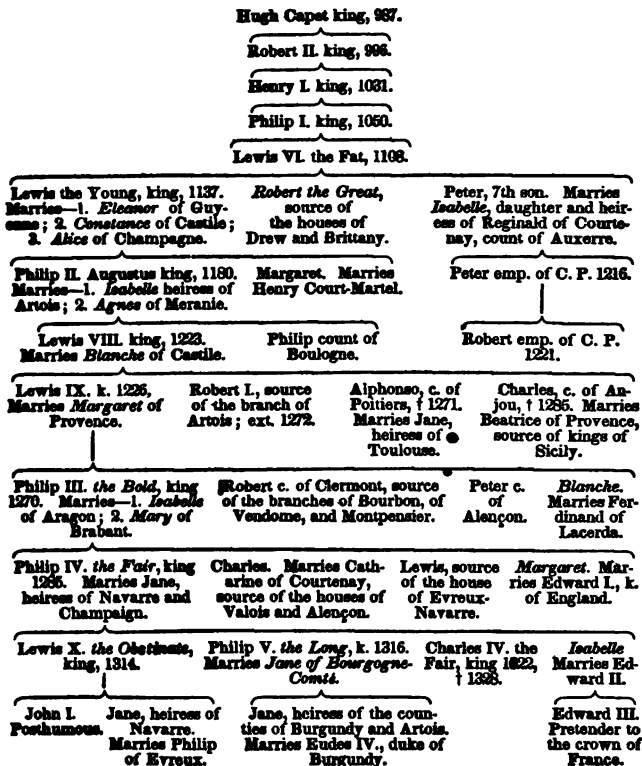
*Conrad Welf or the Saxon Widekind.**Robert, called the Strong or the Anglovin,*  
duke of France, 861-866.*Hugh the Abbey, duke of*  
France, 866-868.*Eudes, count of Paris, duke of France, 886;*  
king, 888-893.*Robert I., duke, 889;*  
king, 922-923.*Emma, wife of Raoul of Burgundy,*  
queen of France, 923-936;  
no posterity.*Hugh the Great, duke of France, &c.,*  
923-956; married Hedwige,  
sister of Otho the Great.*Hugh Capet duke, 956;*  
king, 987-996.*Otho duke of Burgundy,*  
956-965.*Henry duke of Burgundy,*  
965-1002.

No posterity.

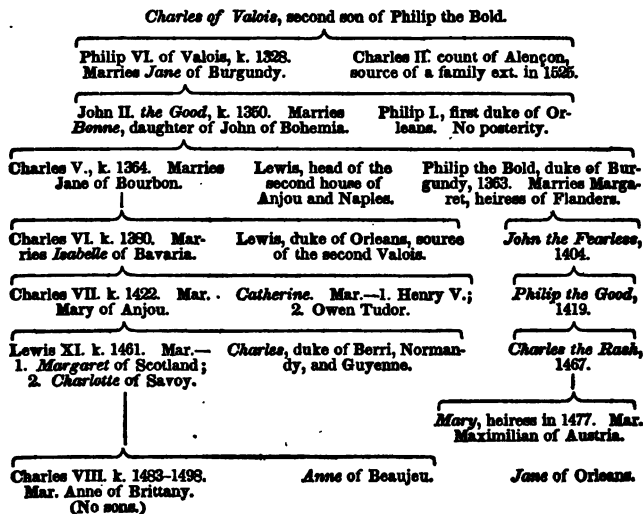
*Robert II. king, 996-1031.*  
Marries—1. Bertha of  
Burgundy; 2. Constance  
of Provence.*Henry I. duke of Burgundy, 1035;*  
king, 1031-1060.  
Marries Anne of Russia.*Robert duke of Burgundy, 1062;*  
source of the first hereditary  
dukes.*Philip I. king, 1060-1108. Marries—*  
1. Bertha of Holland;  
2. Bertrade of Montfort.*Hugh the Great, count of Vermandois*  
and Valois in right of his wife Adelaide.  
(Branch extinct in the 6th generation.)*Lewis VI. the Fat, king, 1108.*



## FIRST BRANCH OF THE CAPETIANS.



## GENEALOGY OF THE FIRST BRANCH OF VALOIS.



# KINGS OF ENGLAND--HOUSE OF NORMANDY AND ANJOU.

1.—William the Conqueror, b. 1026, † 1087. Mar. Matilda of Flanders.			
Robert, duke of Normandy, † 1134.	2.—William Rufus, b. 1087.  Matilda, declared heiress 1127; † 1167. Marries— 1. Henry V., emp. of Germany, † 1125; † 1131. 2. Geoffrey Plantagenet, count of Anjou, 1129; † 1151.	3.—Henry I. b. 1104.  6.—Henry II, b. 1134. Mar. Eleanor of Guienne.	
		Adeline, Mar. Stephen of Blois. 5.—Stephen, b. 1120; † 1154.	
Henry Count, Mortel, † 1183. Mar. Margaret of France.	6.—Richard I. Coeur-de-Lion, b. 1189. Mar. Berengere of Navarre.	Geoffrey, † 1194. Mar. Constance of Brittany. Arthur, assassinated 1203.	
		7.—John Lackland, b. 1192; † 1216. Mar. Isabella of Angoulême.	
9.—Edward I., b. 1272. Marries— 1. Eleanor of Castile; 2. Margaret of France.	8.—Henry III., b. 1216; † 1272. Mar. Eleanor of Provence.  Edmund the Hunchback, head of the first house of Lancaster.	Richard of Cornwall, k. of the Romans, 1257. Mar. Sinead of Provence.  Margaret, Marries Alexander III., king of Scotland.	
		Eleanor, Marries 1. William of Aquitaine; 2. Simon of Lorraine.	

# GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF ENGLAND—(CONTINUED).

10.—Edward III. k. 1327.  
Mar. Isabella of France.

11.—Edward III. k. 1327.  
Mar. Philippe of Hainaut.

Jane  
mar. David, k. of Scotland.

Edward, prince of Wales, Lionel, d. of Clarence,  
† 1368.

12.—Richard II.  
k. 1377; deposed 1399.  
Philippe of Clarence,  
mar. Edmund Mortimer,  
† 1381.

Roger Mortimer declared heir of the crown in  
1385; † 1399.

Ann Mortimer  
mar. Richard of York, grand-  
son of Edward III. source of  
the White Rose.

Bedford, re-  
gent of France,  
† 1435.

Gloucester,  
regent of Eng-  
land and France in  
1422; assass.  
1471.  
Mar. Margaret of  
Anjou, † 1458.

John of Beaufort, legi-  
timized son, † 1410.

Richard of York, mar. Anne  
Mortimer, first heir of the  
rights of Lionel, d. of Clarence.

Richard duke of York,  
Protector, 1455, † 1460.

15.—Henry VI.  
crowned k. of Eng-  
land and France in  
1422; assass.  
1471.  
Mar. Margaret of  
Anjou, † 1458.

Margaret of Beau-  
fort, second heir of  
the rights of Lan-  
caster. Married Ed-  
mund Tudor, c. of  
Richmond; source  
of the h. of Tudor.

Richard IV.  
k. 1461 and 1472.

18.—Richard III.  
k. 1483; killed at  
Bosworth, 1485.

17.—Edward V.  
k. 1483; assas-  
inated, 1483.  
Elizabeth, second heir  
of the rights of Lionel—  
Clarence. Married  
Henry VII., son of Ed-  
mund Tudor, k. in 1485.

## IMPERIAL HOUSE OF SAXONY.

N. E. The kings of Germany  
are counted from *Louis*  
the Germanic.

Otho, duke of Saxony, presumed  
descendant of Witkind,  
married Hedwige, daughter of  
the Emperor Arnolf.

7.—Otho I. of Franconia,  
emperor 911, 1919.

8.—Henry I., the Fowler,  
king of Germany, 919.

Tancmar by a first  
marriage. 9.—Otho the Great k. of  
Germany, 936; emp.,  
932; mar. 2. *Adelaide*,  
queen of Italy.

10.—Otho II, emp. 973;  
mar. Theophania of C. P.  
Ludolph, duke of Fran-  
conia, † 967.

11.—Otho III., emp., 983;  
† 1002. Four daughters.

Bruno, archbishop of  
Cologne, and archduke  
of Lorraine.

Three daughters.

*William*, nat. son,  
archbishop of Mayence.

Two daughters, married  
to *Giselbert* of Lorraine  
and Hugh the Great.

Henry, † 986.

12.—Henry II., emp., 1002;  
† 1024.  
N. E. A collateral branch  
continues in Saxony till 1111.

# IMPERIAL HOUSE OF FRANCONIA.

Marries *Gisela*, granddaughter of Conrad, king of Burgundy, daughter and widow of the dukes of Suabia.  
 13.—Conrad II, the *Saxic* duke of Franconia, chosen emperor, 1024.

14.—Henry III, the *Black*, emperor, 1039. Marries—  
 1. *Constance*, daughter of Canute the Great.  
 2. *Agnes of Poitou*, regent after him.

Two daughters.

15.—Henry IV, emp. 1056. Marries—  
 1. *Bertha of Ivrea*.  
 2. *Adelaide of Russia*.

*Matilda*

Marries *Rudolph*, duke of Suabia,  
 chosen emp. and killed in 1080.

*Sophia*. Marries—  
 1. Solomon, k. of Hungary.  
 2. Ladislas, k. of Poland.

Conrad—rebel.  
 Marries *Matilda* of Sicily.

16.—Henry V, emp., 1106.  
 Marries *Matilda* of England.

*Agnes*.

Mar. Frederic of Hohenstaufen.

*Adelaide*.

Mar. Boleslas III, k. of Poland.

17.—Lothaire II, son of Gerhard of Supplinburg,  
 duke of Saxony, 1106; emp., 1125; † 1137.  
 Marries *Richenza*, heir of Henry the Fat, duke of  
 Saxony, and last descendant of Henry the Fowler.

## HOUSE OF HOHENSTAUFEN, OR SUABIA.

This family came from the castle of Wibling, and was first distinguished by Frederic of Hohenstaufen, who, by his services, won the hand of a daughter of the emperor Henry IV.

Frederic of Buren, count of Hohenstaufen, married duke of Suabia by Henry IV., in 1080; † 1105.  
Married *Agnes*, daughter of Henry IV.

18.—Conrad III., emp. in 1138; † 1152.	Frederic, duke of Suabia, Married Judith, daughter of Henry the Black. † 1135.	Albert, Henry, and Leopold, who were successively dukes of Austria.
19.—Frederic I., Barbarossa, emp., 1152; † 1190. Married Beatrice, heir of the county of Burgundy.	20.—Philip, emperor, 1197. Married <i>Irene Angelina</i> .	Three other sons.
20.—Henry VI., emperor, 1190. Married Constance, heir of Sicily.	23.—Frederic II., king of Sicily, 1197; emperor, 1212; † 1250.	Manfred, nat. son, king of Sicily; killed, 1266.
24.—Conrad IV., emperor, 1250; † 1254.	Conradine, duke of Suabia, decapitated at Naples, 1268.	Constance, Married Peter III., king of Aragon.
25.—William of Holland, chosen emperor, 1247; † 1266.	25.—Richard of Cornwall, chosen emperor, 1272; † 1272.	

## SECOND HOUSE OF GUELPH OR ESTE.

This ancient and noble family descended, according to Muratori, from Adelbert I., who was marquis of Tuscany between the years 847 and 875. It received new lustre from the marriage of Albert Azzo II. with Cunegund of Altorf, heirs of the ancient Guelphs, an alliance which rendered his family very powerful in the Empire.

*Albert Azzo, marquis of Tuscany. † 1087.  
Marries Cunegund of Altorf.*

*Welf or Guelph I., created duke of Bavaria 1071, by  
Henry IV. † 1101.*

*Henry the Black, duke of Bavaria. † 1126.  
Marries Willhid, daughter of Billung duke of  
Saxony, and heir of Lüneburg.*

*Henry the Proud, duke of Bavaria. † 1139.  
Mar. Gertrude, daughter of the emp. Lothario II.,  
heir of Saxony and Brunswick.*

*Henry the Lion, duke of Bavaria and Saxony,  
deposed 1180. † 1195.*

22.—*Otho IV., emperor. † 1218.*

23.—*Alphonso X., emperor.*

*Fulques: source of the house of Modena.*

*Welf or Guelph II. of Este.  
Mar. the countess Matilda of Este,  
heir of Tuscany. † 1123.*

*Welf or Guelph III.,  
duke of Tuscany.*

*William of Lüneburg, first duke  
of Brunswick. † 1213. Source of  
the reigning family of England.*



## IMPERIAL HOUSE OF HAPSBURG AND LUXEMBURG.

*Albert the Wise*, count of Hapsburg, † 1240.  
*Marries* Hedwige, heir of Kyburg : † 1261.

27.—*Rudolph*, count of Hapsburg, emperor, 1273 : † 1291.

28.—*Albert I*, duke of Austria, *Judith*  
 emperor, 1295. *Mar. Charles*  
*Mar. Elizabeth of Carinthia*, of Bohemia.  
*Mar. Vincissius IV.*  
*Mar. Matiel*, king of Hungary.

31.—*Frederic the Handsome*, duke 1308 ;  
 competitor of *Lewis* of Bavaria.

*Albert the Wise*, † 1368.  
 Sources of the different branches  
 of the House of Austria.

## HOUSE OF LUXEMBURG.

*Lewis V.*, of Bavaria, emperor, 1314.

30.—*Henry VII.*, son of *Henry c.* of Luxemburg, emperor, 1308 : † 1313.

*John the Blind*, k. of Bohemia, killed, 1346. Married—  
 1. *Elizabeth*, heir of Bohemia.  
 2. *Beatrice* of Bourbon.

32.—*Charles IV.*, k. of Bohemia and emperor, 1346 : † 1378. *Mar. Ann of Sicily.*

33.—*Vincissius*, k. and emp., 1378 ; dep. 1400.  
 Died king of Bohemia, 1419.

34.—*Robert* of Bavaria, elector Palatine ;  
 chosen emperor, 1400 : † 1410.

38.—*Frederick III.*, d. of Austria and Syria ;  
 emp., 1440 : † 1493.

36.—*Sigismund*,  
 elector of Brandenburg, 1375 ;  
 k. of Hungary, 1385 ; emp. 1411.  
*K. of Bohemia*, 1419 : † 1437.  
*Mar. Mary*, princess of Hungary.

*Elizabeth*.  
*Mar. Albert II.*, great grandson of  
*Albert the Wise*, d. of Austria,  
 37th king of Germany ;  
 emp., 1438 : † 1439.

*John Henry*, margrave of Moravia.

35.—*John*, emperor, 1410 : † 1411.

\* \* \* \* \*

29.—*Adolphus* of Nassau, emperor, 1292 : killed, 1298.

*Agnes*. *Rudolph*. *Matilda*. *Hedwige*.  
*Mar. Albert II.* *Mar. Lewis II.* *Mar. Otto IV.*  
*d. of Saxony.* *d. of Bavaria.* *margrave of*  
*Brandenburg.*

## KINGS OF CASTILE AND LEON.

- Ferdinand, son of *Sancho the Great* of Navarre, king of Castile, 1038; of Leon, 1037; † 1068.
- Sancho II., k. of Castile, 1065; † 1072. Alphonso I., k. of Leon, 1065; of Castile, 1072; † 1109. Garcia, k. of Galicia and Portugal; confined, 1073.
- Urraca, queen, 1109; † 1126. Mar. Raymond, son of William I., count of Burgundy; † 1108.
- Alphonso II., king, 1126; crowned emperor of Spain, 1135; † 1157.
- Sancho III., k. of Castile, 1157; † 1158.
- Alphonso III., k. of Castile, 1158; † 1214.
- Berengaria, † 1246. Mar. Alphonso IX., king of Leon, 1197. Mar. Louis VIII., king of France, 1200. Henry I., king of Castile, 1214; † 1217.
- Alphonso X., *the Wise*, king, 1252; elected emp. of Germany, 1257; † 1284.
- Ferdinand, prince of la Cerdà, † 1275. Mar. Blanche, daughter of St. Louis; † 1320.
- Alphonso de la Cerdà, proclaimed k., 1288; renounced, 1305; † about 1331.
- Alphonso, source of the marquises of Lunel and Gebralleon.
- Peter the Cruel*, king, 1350; killed at Montiel, 1369.
- Constance, mar. John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, pretender to the throne of Castile.
- Henry III., the sickly, king, 1390; † 1406.
- John II., king, 1406; † 1454.
- Henry IV., king, 1454; † 1474.
- Jane *Bertranda*, nun at Coimbra.
- Isabella, queen, 1474; † 1504.
- Alphonso V., k. of Aragon, † 1468.
- Married.
- Jane, queen of Castile, 1504; heiress of the Spanish monarchy, 1516; † 1556.
- Mar. Philip of Austria, 1496; son of Mary of Burgundy.
- Ferdinand *the Just*, raised to the throne of Aragon, 1410; † 1416.
- John II., k. of Aragon, † 1479.
- Ferdinand, the Catholic k. of Aragon, 1479; † 1516.
- Henry of Transjume, nat. son, king, 1369; † 1379.
- John I., k., 1379; † 1390. Mar. Eleanor, daughter of Peter IV., k. of Arragon.
- Alphonso XI., k., 1312; † 1360.
- Sancho IV., king, 1284; † 1295.
- Ferdinand IV., k., 1246; † 1312.

## KINGS OF ARAGON, MAJORCA, AND SICILY.

1.—**Ramiro I.**, 8d son of Sancho the Great of Navarre, king of Aragon, 1038: † 1068.

2.—**Sancho I.** k. of Aragon, 1068: of Navarre 1076: † 1094.

3.—**Peter I.** k. of Aragon & Navarre, 1094: † 1104.

4.—**Alphonso I.** k. of Aragon & Navarre, 1104: † 1134.

5.—**Ramiro II.** k. of Aragon, 1134: abdicates, 1137: † 1162.

6.—**Patronilla**, Queen of Aragon, 1137: † 1172. Marries Raymond Berengarius, c. of Barcelona, regent of Aragon, 1137: † 1162.

7.—**Alphonso II.**, *the Chaste*, k. of Aragon and c. of Barcelona & Provence, 1162: † 1196.

8.—**Peter II.** k. of Aragon, 1196; killed at Muret, 1213. **Alphonso**, c. of Provence & Forcalquier, † 1209.

9.—**Jayme I.**, the Conqueror, k. of Aragon, 1213: † 1276. **Raymond Berengarius V.** c. of Prov. & Forcalq., 1214.

10.—**Peter III.**, *the Great*, k. of Aragon, 1276; of Sicily, by the Sicilian Vespers, 1282: † 1285. **Jayme I.** k. of Majorca, c. of Roussillon & Montpellier, 1292: † 1311. **Beatrice**, heiress of Prov. & Forcalq., 1246: † 1267. **Mar. Charles** of Anjou, brother of St. Lewis, 1246.

11.—**Alphonso III.** k. of Aragon, 1286; † 1291. **Jayme II.** k. of Sicily, 1296: † 1326. **Sancho** k. of Majorca, 1311: † 1324.

12.—**Alphonso IV.** k. of Aragon, 1327: † 1336. **Peter II.** k. of Sicily, 1336: † 1342. **Jayme II.** k. of Majorca, 1324—stripped, 1343: † 1349.

13.—**Peter IV.**, *the Ceremonious*, k. of Aragon, 1336: † 1357. **Lewis** k. of Sicily, 1342: † 1355. **Frederic III.** k. of Sicily, 1355: † 1377. **Jayme III.** k. of Majorca, 1349: † 1375, prisoner of the king of Aragon.

14.—**John I.** k. of Aragon, Eleanor, † 1382. Mar. 16.—**Martin** k. of Aragon, 1365; of Sicily, 1409: † 1410. **Maria** queen of Sicily, 1377: † 1402. **Mar. Martin** prince of Aragon, † 1391.

15.—**John I.** k. of Aragon, Eleanor, † 1382. Mar. 17.—**Ferdinand I.**, the Just, Mar. Lewis III. of Aragon, k. of Aragon & Sicily, 1410: † 1416. **Martin** prince of Aragon k. of Sicily, 1401: † 1409. **Mar. Mary**, heiress and heiress of Sicily, 1410: † 1416. **Frederic III.** k. of Sicily.

16.—**Alphonso V.** k. of Aragon & Sicily, 1416; k. of Naples, 1443: † 1463. 19.—**John II.** k. of Navarre, 1425; k. of Aragon & Sicily, 1458: † 1479.

20.—**Ferdinand II.**, *the Catholic*, k. of Castile, 1474; of Aragon & Sicily, 1479; of Granada, 1492; of Naples, 1504; of Navarre, 1512: † 1516. **Mar. Isabella**, daughter of John II. of Castile, 1469.

# CHRONOLOGICAL SERIES OF THE EMPERORS OF THE EAST,

FROM ARCADIUS, SON OF THEODOSIUS THE GREAT, TILL THE  
ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF COMNENES.

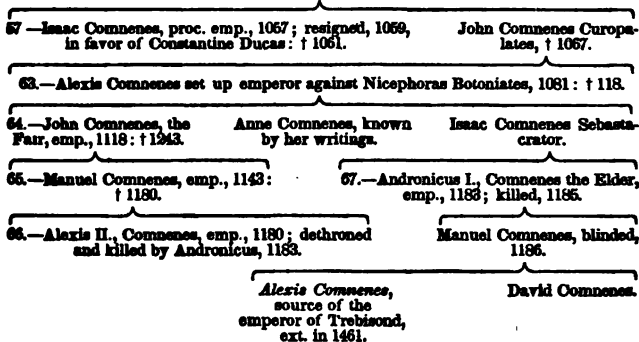
- 1.—Arcadius, eldest son of Theodosius the Great, emp., 395; † 408.
- 2.—Theodosius II., the younger son of Arcadius, emp., 408; † 450.
- 3.—Marcian, emp., 450; † 457. Married Pulcheria, daughter of Arcadius.
- 4.—Leo I., emp., 457; † 474.
- 5.—Leo II., the Younger, emp., 474; † 474.
- 6.—Zeno, father of Leo II., emp., 474; † 491.
- 7.—Anastasius I., Dicorias, emp., 491; † 518.
- 8.—Justin I., the Elder, emp., 518; † 527.
- 9.—Justinian I., nephew of Justin, emp., 527; † 565.
- 10.—Justinian II., the Younger, emp., 565; † 578.
- 11.—Tiberius II., surnamed Constantine, emp., 578; † 582.
- 12.—Maurice, emp., 582; killed, 602.
- 13.—Phocas, emp., 602; killed, 610.
- 14.—Heraclius, emp., 610; † 641.
- 15.—Heraclius Constantine, son of Heraclius, emp., 641; † 641.
- 16.—Heraclionas, brother of Cons., emp., 641; exiled, 641.
- 17.—Constant II., son of Heracl. Const., emp., 641; † 668.
- 18.—Constantine III., Pogonat, son of Constant, emp., 668; † 695.
- 19.—Justinian II., son of Constantine Pogonat, emp., 695; dethroned, 695; re-established, 705; killed, 711.
- 20.—Leontius, emp., 695; dethroned, 698.
- 21.—Abdismar Tiberius, emp., 698; dethroned, 705.
- 22.—Philippon, surnamed Bardanus, emp., 711; killed, 713.
- 23.—Anastasius II., or Artemius, emp., 713; dethroned, 716; killed, 719.
- 24.—Theodosius III., emp., 716; abdicates, 717.
- 25.—Leo III., the Isaurian, emp., 717; † 741.
- 26.—Constantine IV., Copronymus, son of Leo, emp., 741; † 775.
- 27.—Leo IV., surnamed Chazarus, emp., 775; † 780.
- 28.—Constantine V., son of Leo, emp., with his mother Irene, 780; killed by his mother, 797.
- 29.—Irene, alone, 797; deposed, 802; † 803.
- 30.—Nicephoras, emp., 802; † 811.
- 31.—Stauratius, son of Nicephoras, emp., 811; abdicates, 811; † 812.
- 32.—Michel I., Curopalates, emp., 811; dethroned, 813.
- 33.—Leo V., the Armenian, emp., 813; killed, 820.
- 34.—Michel II., the Stammerer, emp., 820; † 829.
- 35.—Theophilus, son of Michel II., emp., 829; † 842.
- 36.—Michel III., the Drunkard, son of Theophilus, emp., 842; killed, 867.
- 37.—Basil, the Macedonian, emp., 867; † 886.
- 38.—Leo VI., the Philosopher, son of Basil, emp., 886; † 911.
- 39.—Alexander, son of Leo VI., emp., 911, with his nephew Constantine VI.; † 912.
- 40.—Constantine VI., Porphyrogenitus, son of Leo VI., emp., 911; dethroned by his father-in-law, Romanus I., towards 919; re-established, 945; † 969.
- 41, 42, 43, 44.—Romanus I., Lecapenes, and his three sons, Christopher, Stephen, and Constantine VII., emp., 919, 920, 928; dethroned, 944, 945.
- 45.—Romanus II., the younger son of Constantine VI., emp., 969; † 963.
- 46.—Nicephoras Phocas, emp., 963; assass., 969.
- 47.—John Zimisces, emp., 969; † 976.
- 48, 49.—Basil II., and Constantine VIII., son of Romanus II., emp., 976; † 1025 and 1028.
- 50.—Romanus III., Argyrus, emp., 1028; † 1034.
- 51.—Michel IV., the Paphlagonian, emp., 1034; † 1041.
- 52.—Michel V., Calaphates, emp., 1041; deposed, 1042.
- 53, 54.—Zoe, empress, and Constantine IX., Monomachus, emp., 1042; † 1064.
- 55.—Theodora, Zoe's sister, empress, 1054; † 1056.
- 56.—Michel VI., Stratioticus, emp., 1056; abdicated, 1057.
- 57.—Isaac Comnenes, emp., 1057; abdicated, 1059.

## 430 GREEK EMPERORS OF THE HOUSE OF COMNENES.

- 53.—Constantine X., Ducas, emp., 1059; † 1067.  
 59, 60.—Eudocia, empress, Michael Parapinaces, Andronicus, and Constantine, her sons, emperors, with Romanus IV., Diogenes, her husband, associated to the empire, 1068; and killed, 1071.  
 61.—Michael VII., Parapinaces, brother of Constantine, Ducas, and Eudocia, sole emperor, 1071; abdicated, 1078.  
 62.—Nicephorus Botoniates, emp., 1078; dethroned, 1081.

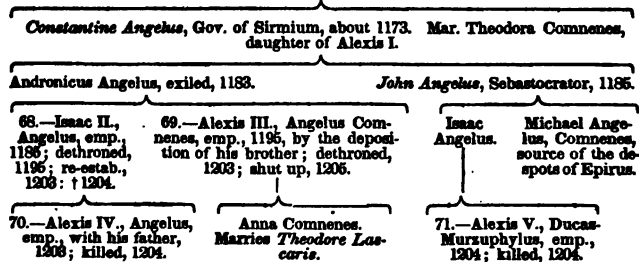
## GREEK EMPERORS OF THE HOUSE OF COMNENES.

Manuel Comnenes, governor of Nica.



## GREEK EMPERORS OF THE HOUSE OF ANGELUS.

Angelus.



## LATIN EMPERORS OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

Baldwin, count of Flanders, † 1195.

1.—Baldwin I, elected and crowned emperor at Constantinople, 1204 : † 1206. * * * * *	2.—Henry, emp., 1206 ; † 1216.	Yoland, † 1219. Marries 3. Peter Courtenay, chosen emp., 1216 : † 1219.
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5.—John of Brienne, titular king of Jerusalem, *guardian* of Baldwin II., 1229 ; obtains the title of emperor, 1231 : † 1237.

4.—Robert I., emp., 1219 : † 1228.

5.—Baldwin II., emp., 1228 ; driven from the throne by Michael Paleologus, 1261 : † 1272. Mar. *Maria*, daughter of John of Brienne, titular king of Jerusalem, and emperor of Constantinople.

Philip, titular emperor of Constantinople, † 1285.

## GREEK EMPERORS OF NICE.

Theodore Lascaris I., proclaimed emperor at Nice, 1206 : † 1222. Marries *Anna*, daughter of the emperor Alexis III., Angelus, 1198 (V. house of Angelus).

*Irene Lascaris*, † 1241. Mar. John Ducas Vatach, emp., 1222 : † 1255.

Theodore Ducas Lascaris, emp., 1255 : † 1269.

John Lascaris, emp., 1269, at six years of age ; dethroned and blinded by his guardian, Michel Paleologus, 1260 : † after 1284.

## GREEK EMPERORS OF THE HOUSE OF PALEOLOGUS.

1.—Michel Paleologus, proclaimed emp. at Nice, 1260; retakes Constantinople, 1261 :  
† 1282.

2.—Andronicus II., Paleologus, emp., 1282; dethroned by his grandson, 1328 : † 1332.

*Michel Paleologus*, associated to the empire by his father, 1296 : † 1320.

Theodore Paleologus, source of the marquises of Montferrat, extinct 1533.

3.—Andronicus III., Paleologus the Younger, emp., 1328—1332 : † 1341.

5.—John Catacuzene, guardian of John I. Paleologus, makes himself emp., 1341—1347; abdicates, 1355 : † . . .

4.—John I., Paleologus, emp., 1341; driven away by John Catacuzene, 1347; re-established 1355 : † 1391. Mar. Helen, daughter of John Catacuzene, 1347.

6.—Matthew Catacuzene, proclaimed emp. by his father, the Turks, 1347. 1354; abd. 1355 : † 1380.

Andronicus, excluded from the throne for having conspired against his father.

7.—Manuel Paleologus, emp., 1391 : † 1425.

8.—John II., Paleologus, associated to the empire by his uncle Manuel, 1399; reigns alone about 1400; abdicates towards 1402.

9.—John III., Paleologus, emp., 1425 : † 1448.

*Andronicus Paleologus*, prince of Thessalonica, dethroned, 1425.

10.—Constantine Paleologus, Dragases, last emp., 1448; killed at the taking of Const., 1453.

Demetrius Paleologus, despot of the Peloponnesus, dethroned, 1469 : † 1471.

Thomas Paleologus, Prince of Achaia and the Peloponnesus, dethroned, 1469 : † at Rome, 1465.

*Andrew Paleologus* cedes in 1494 his rights to Charles VIII., k. of France.

*Sophia* † 1503. Mar. *Ivan Vasilievitch*, first gr. d. of Russia, 1472.

## SULTANS OF THE OTTOMAN TURKS TO MAHOMET II.

Soliman Schah.

Ertogrul or Ortoqrul, † 1289.

1.—Osman or Ottoman I., lays the foundation of the new dominion of the Turks towards 1200: † 1326.

2.—Orkhan takes the title of *Sultan & Padischah*: † 1359.

Soliman seizes Gallipoli, 1358: † 1358.

3.—Amurat or Mourad I., called *Gazi* or *the Conqueror*, Sultan 1359; takes Adrianople 1360: † 1389.4.—Bajazet I., called *Adrim* or *the Thunderbolt*, Sultan 1389; defeated and taken prisoner by Timour, the 16th June, 1402: † 8th March, 1403.

Soliman I. receives from Timour the investiture of Turkey in Europe, 1403: killed 1410.

6.—Muss receives from Timour the investiture of Turkey in Asia, 1403: killed 1413.

7.—Mahomet I. sole Sultan after an anarchy of ten years, 1413: † 1421.

8.—Amurat or Mourad II., Sultan 1421: 1451.

*Mustapha*, killed 1454.

9.—Mahomet II., Sultan 1451; takes Constantinople 1453: † 1481.

## CHRONOLOGICAL SERIES OF THE POPES,

FROM GREGORY VII. TO THE END OF THE GREAT SCHISM OF THE WEST.

- 1.—Gregory VII., elected April 22, 1073, confirmed by the Emperor Henry IV.: † May 25, 1085.
- 2.—Victor III., elected May 24, 1086: † September 16, 1087.
- 3.—Urban II., elected March 12, 1088: † July 29, 1099.
- 4.—Pascal II., elected August 13, 1099: † January 21, 1118.
- 5.—Gelasius II., elected January 25, 1118: † January 25, 1119.
- 6.—Calixtus II., elected February 1, 1119: † December 12, 1124.
- 7.—Honorius II., elected December 21, 1124: † February 24, 1130.
- 8.—Innocent II., elected February 15, 1130: † September 24, 1143.
- 9.—Celestine II., elected September 25, 1143: † March 9, 1144.
- 10.—Lucius II., elected March 12, 1144: † February 25, 1145.
- 11.—Eugene III., elected February 27, 1145: † July 8, 1153.
- 12.—Anastasius IV., elected July 9, 1153: † December 2, 1154.
- 13.—Adrian IV., elected December 3, 1154: † September 1, 1159.
- 14.—Alexander III., elected September 7, 1159: † August 30, 1181.
- 15.—Lucius III., elected September 1, 1181: † November 24, 1185.
- 16.—Urban III., elected November 25, 1185: † October 19, 1187.
- 17.—Gregory VIII., elected October 30, 1187: † December 17, 1187.
- 18.—Clement III., elected December 19, 1187: † March 27, 1191.
- 19.—Celestine III., elected March 30, 1191: † January 8, 1198.
- 20.—Innocent III., elected January 8, 1198: † July 17, 1216.
- 21.—Honorius III., elected July 18, 1216: † March 18, 1227.
- 22.—Gregory IX., elected March 19, 1227: † August 31, 1241.
- 23.—Celestine IV., elected towards the end of October, 1241: † towards Nov. 13, 1241.
- 24.—Innocent IV., elected June 25, 1243: † December 7, 1254.
- 25.—Alexander IV., elected December 12, 1254: † May 25, 1261.
- 26.—Urban IV., elected August 29, 1261: † October 2, 1264.
- 27.—Clement IV., elected February 5, 1265: † November 29, 1268.
- 28.—Gregory X., elected September 1, 1271: † January 10, 1276.
- 29.—Innocent V., elected February 21, 1276: † June 22, 1276.



- 30.—Adrian V., elected and † 1276.  
 31.—John XXI., elected September 13, 1276: † May 17, 1277.  
 32.—Nicholas III., elected November 26, 1277: † August 22, 1280.  
 33.—Martin IV., elected February 22, 1281: † March 28, 1285.  
 34.—Honorius IV., elected April 2, 1285: † April 3, 1287.  
 35.—Nicholas IV., elected February 15, 1288: † April 4, 1292.  
 36.—Celestine V., elected July 5, 1294; abdicates December 13, 1294.  
 37.—Boniface VIII., elected December 24, 1294: † October 11, 1303.  
 38.—Benedict XII., elected October 22, 1303: † July 7, 1304.  
 39.—Clement V., elected June 5, 1306; establishes himself at Avignon, 1309: † April 20, 1314.  
 40.—John XXII., elected August 7, 1316: † December 4, 1334.  
 41.—Benedict XII., elected December 20, 1334: † April 25, 1342.  
 42.—Clement VI., elected May 7, 1342: † December 6, 1362.  
 43.—Innocent VII., elected December 18, 1362: † September 2, 1369.  
 44.—Urban V., elected month of September, 1362: † December 19, 1370.  
 45.—Gregory XI., elected December 30, 1370: † March 27, 1378.

### POPES OF THE GREAT SCHISM OF THE WEST,

ROMAN POPES.	AVIGNONNESE POPES.	FISAN POPES.
Urban VI., elected at Rome, April 8, 1378: † October 18, 1389.	Clement VII., elected Sept. 21, 1378: † September 16, 1394.	
Boniface IX., elected Nov. 2, 1389: † October 1, 1404.	Benedict XIII., elected Sept. 28, 1394; deposed by the Council of Pisa and of Constance in 1409 & 1417: † 1424.	Alexander V., elected at the Council of Pisa, June 26, 1409: † May 3, 1410.
Innocent VII., elected Oct. 17, 1404: † Nov. 6, 1406.		John XXIII., elected May 17, 1410; deposed at the Council of Constance, May 29, 1415.
Gregory XII., elected Nov. 30, 1406; deposed by the Council of Pisa, June 6, 1409; resigned the Papacy at the Council of Constance, 1415.		

### FROM THE END OF THE GREAT SCHISM TO THE TAKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

- Martin V., elected at the Council of Constance, November 11, 1417: † Feb. 21, 1431.  
 Eugene IV., elected March 6, 1431: † February 23, 1447.  
 Nicholas V., elected March 6, 1447: † March 24, 1455.

### CHRONOLOGY OF THE MONASTIC ORDERS.

ORDERS.	FOUNDERS.	DATES.
1.—Solitaries, . . . . .	St. Paul, the Hermit, . . . . .	about 300
2.—Cenobites, . . . . .	St. Anthony, Abbot, . . . . .	300
3.—Augustinians, . . . . .	St. Augustin, . . . . .	360
4.—Maronites, . . . . .	St. Maron, . . . . .	490
5.—Benedictines, . . . . .	St. Benedict, . . . . .	500
6.—Of St. Basil, . . . . .	St. Basil, . . . . .	520
7.—Cartesians, . . . . .	St. Bruno, . . . . .	1086
8.—Of Mercy, . . . . .	St. Peter of Nola, . . . . .	1192
9.—Trinitarians, or Mathurins, . . . . .	St. John of Mitha, . . . . .	1198
10.—Carmelites, . . . . .	The Blessed Abbot, . . . . .	1204
Barefooted Carmelites, . . . . .	St. John de la Croix, . . . . .	
11.—Franciscans, . . . . .	St. Francis of Assisa, . . . . .	1209
12.—Cordeliers, . . . . .	" . . . . .	1209
13.—Domenicans, . . . . .	St. Dominic, . . . . .	1215
14.—Premonstrs, . . . . .	St. Norbert, . . . . .	1219
15.—Bernardines, . . . . .	St. Bernard, . . . . .	1250
16.—Celestins, . . . . .	St. Celestin, . . . . .	1254
17.—Minims, . . . . .	St. Francis de Paola, . . . . .	1436
18.—Jesuits, . . . . .	St. Ignatius de Loyola, . . . . .	1540
19.—Capuchins, . . . . .	" . . . . .	1625
20.—Trappists, . . . . .	de Rancé, . . . . .	1662

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

A.D.	ENGLAND.	FRANCE.	GERMANY.	PAPAL STATES.	RUSSIA.	SPAIN.	SCOTLAND.
800		Charlemagne. Louis I.	Charlemagne. Louis I.	Leo III.		Alfonso II. Oviedo.	Achaisus.
814				Stephen IV.			
816				Pascal I.			
817				Eugene II.			Congal III. Dungal.
824				Valentine.			
827	Egbert.			Gregory IV.			Alpin. Kenneth II.
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833							
736							
837	Ethelwulf.						
840		Charles I.				Ramiro I. Oviedo.	
842			Louis II.	Sergius II. Leo IV.			
843				Benedict III.		Oviedo I. Garcia Ximenes. Navesre.	
844				Nicholas I.			
847							
850							
855							
857							
858	Ethelbald & Ethelbert.						
859							Donald III.
860	Ethelbert.						Constantine II.
861					Rurik.		
862							
863							
864	Ethelred I.						
867				Adrian II.		Alfonso III. Oviedo.	
871	Alfred.			John VIII.			
872			Carloman. Louis III. & Charles II.				
873							



A.D.	ENGLAND.	FRANCE.	GERMANY.	PAPAL STATES.	RUSSIA.	SPAIN.	SCOTLAND.
928				Leo VI.			
929				Stephen VII.			
931				John XI.			
935				Leo VII.			
939				Stephen VIII.			
940	Edmund I.			Martin III.			
942		Lewis IV.	Otho I.	Agapet II.			Malcolm I.
944							
945							
946	Edred.						
950							
953							
954							
955	Edwy.						
956							
959	Edgar.						
961							
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975	Edw'd the Martyr.						
976	Edward II.						
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A.D.	ENGLAND.	FRANCE.	GERMANY.	PAPAL STATES.	RUSSIA.	SPAIN.	SCOTLAND.
996		Robert II.		Gregory V.		Alfonso V.	
999				Sylvester II.		Leon.	
1000			Henry II.			Sancho III.	Malcolm II.
1002						Navarre.	
1003							
1008				John XVII.			
1012				John XVIII.			
1013				Sergius IV.			
1014	Swegn.			Benedict VIII.			
1015	Edithred II. (deposed.)				Sviatopolk I.		
1016	Edmund Ironside and Canute.						
1017	Canute.						
1019				John XIX.	Jaroslav I.	Bernardo III. Leon.	
1024		Henry I.	Conrad II.			Ferdinand I. Castile.	Duncan I.
1027				Benedict IX.		Garcia III. Navarre.	
1031						Ramiro I. Aragon.	
1033						Ferdinand I. Cast. and Le.	
1035							Macbeth.
1036	Harold I.						
1037							
1039			Henry III.				
1040	Hardicanute.			Gregory VI.			
1042	Edward the Con- fessor.			Clement II.			
1044				Damasus II.			
1046				Leo IX.			
1048							
1054				Victor II.		Sanche IV. Navarre.	
1056					Isidore I.		



A.D.	ENGLAND.	FRANCE.	GERMANY.	PAPAL STATES.	RUSSIA.	SPAIN.	SCOTLAND.
1119				Callistus II.			
1124				Gregorius II.			
1126			Lothaire II.		Meslief.	Alfonso VII. Cast. and La.	David I.
1126				Innocent II.	Jacopolk II.	Garcia IV. Nevorre.	
1129						Ramiro II. Aragon.	
1132						Peironilla and Raymondo.	
1134						Aragon.	
1136 Stephen.					Vislachelef Vsevolod II.		
1137							
1138							
1140							
1143				Celestine II.			
1144				Lucius II.	Igor II. Isiaslaf II.		
1145				Eugene III.	Iouri I.		
1147					Isiaslaf II. (restored.)		
1149							
1150					Rostislaf. Isiaslaf III.		
1152				Anastasius IV.	Iouri I. (restored.)		
1153				Adrian IV.	Andrei I.		
1154	Henry II.		Frederic I.			Sancho VI. Nevorre	Malcolm IV.
1157							
1159							
1159							
1162				Alexander III.			
1165							
1176					Michail I.		William.

A.D.	ENGLAND.	FRANCE.	GERMANY.	PAPAL STATES.	RUSSIA.	SPAIN.	SCOTLAND.
1177		Philip II.		Lucius III.	Vsevolod III.		
1180				Urban III.			
1181				Gregory VIII.			
1185				Clement III.		Alfonso IX. <i>Leon.</i>	
1187							
1188	Richard I.		Henry VI.	Celestine III.		Sancho VII. <i>Narvaez.</i>	
1189						Peter II. <i>Aragon.</i>	
1190							
1191							
1194							
1195			Philip & Otto IV.	Innocent III.			
1198			Otto IV.		Jouri II.	James I. <i>Aragon.</i>	
1199	John.		Frederic II.			Henry I. <i>Castile.</i>	Alexander II.
1202					Constantine. Jouri II. (restored).	Ferdinand III. <i>Castile.</i>	
1212							
1213							
1214	Henry III.			Honorius III.			
1216							
1217							
1218							
1223		Lewis VIII.					
1225	Lewis IX.			Gregory IX.		Ferdinand III. <i>Castile and Leon.</i>	
1227						Theobald I. <i>Navarre.</i>	
1227							
1230					Jaroslav II.		
1234				Celestine IV.			
1237				Innocent IV.			
1241							
1243					Sviatoslaf III.		
1247					Andrei II.		
1249			Conrad IV.		Alexander Nevski.		Alexander III.
1250							
1251							



A.D.	ENGLAND.	FRANCE.	GERMANY.	PAPAL STATES.	RUSSIA.	SPAIN.	SCOTLAND.
1382						Alfonso X. <i>Cast. and La.</i> Theobald II. <i>Navarre.</i>	
1383			William of Hol-	Alexander IV.			
1384			land.				
1387			Richard, E. of Cornwall.	Urban IV.	Jaroslav III.		
1391				Clement IV.			
1394				Gregory X.	Vasili I.	Henry I. <i>Navarre.</i>	
1395		Philip III.					
1396			Rodolph of Haps-	Innocent V.		Joanna I. <i>Navarre.</i>	
1397			burg.	Adrian V.		Peter III. <i>Aragon.</i>	
1398				John XXI.			
1399				Nicholas III.			
1400				Martin IV.			
1401						Sancho IV. <i>Cast. and La.</i> Alfonso III. <i>Aragon.</i>	Margaret.
1402		Philip IV.		Honorius IV.			
1403				Nicholas IV.		James II. <i>Aragon.</i>	John Balliol.
1404			Adolphus of Na-	Celestine V.			
1405			mau.	Boniface VIII.	Andrei III.		
1406						Ferdinand IV. <i>Cast. and La.</i>	Interregnum.
1407							

A.D.	ENGLAND.	FRANCE.	GERMANY.	PAPAL STATES.	RUSSIA.	SPAIN.	SCOTLAND.
1298			Albert of Austria.	Benedict XI.			
1303				Clement V.	Mikhail II.	Lewis (X. France). <i>Navarre.</i>	
1304							Robert I.
1306							
1306	Edward II.		Henry VII.			Alphonso XI. <i>Cast. and La.</i>	
1308		Lewis X.	Frederic III. and Lewis V.			Philip I. (V. France.) <i>Navarre.</i>	
1312		John I. Philip V.			Jouri III.	Charles I. (IV. France.) <i>Navarre.</i>	
1314		Charles IV.		John XXII.	Dmitri II. Alexander II.	Alfonso IV. <i>Navarre.</i>	
1316					Ivan I.	Aragon. Joanna II. and Philip II. <i>Navarre.</i>	
1320		Philip VI.					David II. [Edward Balliol usurped in 1322, but was deposed in the same year.]
1329			Lewis V.	Benedict XII.		Peter IV. <i>Aragon.</i>	
1330				Clement VI.	Semen.	Joanna II. <i>Navarre.</i>	
1334						Charles II. <i>Navarre.</i>	
1336						Peter the Cruel. <i>Cast. and La.</i>	
1341							
1343							
1345							
1347							
1349							
1350		John II.		Innocent VI.	Ivan II. Dmitri III. and Dmitri IV.		
1352							
1353							
1353							
1360							
1362				Urban V.			

A.D.	ENGLAND.	FRANCE.	GERMANY.	PAPAL STATES.	RUSSIA.	SPAIN.	SCOTLAND.
1364		Charles V.		Gregory XI.		Henry II. <i>Cast. and La.</i>	Robert II.
1366							
1370							
1371	Richard III.			Urban VI.		John I. <i>Cast. and La.</i> Charles III. <i>Navarre.</i>	
1377			Wenceslaus.			John I. <i>Navarre.</i>	
1378						Aragon. Henry III. <i>Cast. and La.</i> Martin. Aragon.	Robert III.
1379		Charles VI.					
1380							
1387							
1389							
1390							
1395							
1399							
1400	Henry IV.						
1404							
1406			Robert.	Innocent VII. Gregory XII. Alexander V. John XXIII.		John II. <i>Cast. and La.</i>	James I.
1409							
1410							
1411							
1412							
1413	Henry V.						
1416							
1417							
1422	Henry VI.						
1425		Charles VII.		Martin V.		Ferdinand I. Aragon. Alfonso V. Aragon. Blanche & John II. <i>Navarre.</i>	James II.
1431							
1437							
1439							
1440							
1441							
1447			Albert II. Frederic IV.	Eugene IV.			
1454				Nicholas V.		John II. <i>Navarre.</i>	

## TABULAR VIEW OF THE DISMEMBERMENT OF THE EMPIRE.

## PRINCIPAL KINGDOMS.

GERMANY.	ITALY.	FRANCE.
<p>888.—Arnolph of Carinthia, natural son of Carloman, chosen king at the Diet of Tribur, receives the homage of the kings of France, Italy, and Burgundy, and disposes of the kingdom of Lorraine in favor of his natural son, Zwentibold or Svantipolk.</p> <p>He gives the duchy of Carinthia to Svatipolk, prince of the Moravians.</p>	<p>888.—Guido and Berengarius, dukes of Spoleto and Friuli, contend for the crown; the Adige forms the limits of their possessions.</p> <p>891.—Guido, already proclaimed king at the Diet of Pavia, goes to Rome to be crowned emperor and king of the French. He associates his son Lambert in the imperial dignity.</p>	<p>888.—Eudes, son of Robert the Strong, duke of France and count of Paris, obtains the crown from the nobles, to the prejudice of Charles the Simple, sole legitimate descendant of Charlemagne. He thwarts the designs of Guido of Spoleto, and Lewis of Provence, upon the kingdom of France; acknowledges himself vassal of Arnolph, and subduces count Raynolph, who had made himself king of Aquitania.</p>
<p>894.—Arnolph is called into Italy by Pope Formosa, who wished to strengthen the temporal power of the Holy See, by giving Rome a foreign sovereign.</p>	<p>894.—First expedition of Arnolph, who does not go beyond Piacenza, and returns by the Burgundian Alps.</p>	<p>893.—Charles the Simple is crowned at Rheims, and puts himself at the head of a powerful party to recover his inheritance.</p>
<p>896.—Arnolph enters Italy after Guido's death, and is crowned emperor at Rome. But the incursions of the Moravians recall him to Germany. He forms an alliance against them, with the Hungarians, recently arrived in Pannonia.</p>	<p>896.—Lambert is unable to prevent Arnolph's coronation. After his retreat he becomes reconciled with Berengarius, who preserves the title of king, and was the last to wear the imperial crown of the Carolingians. Anarchy is to reign in Italy till the re-establishment of the empire by Otho the Great, in 962.</p>	<p>896.—After three years of civil war, the usurper and the pretender sign a treaty of division, which gives to Charles the provinces north of the Seine.</p>
<p>899-911.—Reign of Lewis IV., <i>the Child</i>, son of Arnolph, and last Carolingian in Germany.</p>		<p>898.—Charles becomes sole king by the death of his rival. But the great soon snatch from him the crown, to which they had already disputed his right.</p>

## KINGDOMS OF THE SECOND ORDER.

CISJURAN BURGUNDY.	TRANSJURAN BURGUNDY.	NAVARRA.
<p>879.—Boson, brother-in-law of Charles the Bald, after having lost his duchy of Pavia, had obtained the government of Cisjuran Burgundy, of which he was crowned king and patrician, at Mantaille, after the death of Lewis the Stammerer. This kingdom comprised the country situated between the Saone and the Jura, the upper Loire and the Alps.</p>	<p>888.—Rudolph Welf, count of Transjuran Burgundy, declares himself independent after the death of Charles the Fat. He is chosen king in a Diet held at St. Maurice, in Valais. His states lay between the Rhone, the Jura, and the Reuss.</p>	<p>About 831, Aznar, count of the march of Navarre, had thrown off his dependence on Lewis the Debonnaire. From that time the farther Basques no longer belonged to the Frank empire.</p> <p>857.—Garcias Ximenes, a descendant of Aznar, takes the title of king of Pampluna.</p>

CISJURAN BURGUNDY.	TRANSJURAN BURGUNDY.	NAVARRE.
930.—The two Burgundies are united, and form the kingdom of Arles. This union is made for the advantage of Rudolph II., king of Transjuran Burgundy, by the cession of Hugh of Provence, his competitor for the crown of Italy.		1000.—The kingdom of Navarre, enlarged by the counties of Aragon and Castile, reaches the height of its power under Sancho the Great.
1033.—The kingdom of Arles is united to that of Germany, by the will of Rudolph III., who bequeathes it to his nephew, the emperor Conrad II.		1836.—Sancho III., at his death, divides his kingdom among his children.

## DISMEMBERMENT OF NAVARRE.

CASTILE. <i>Capital, Burgos.</i>	ARAGON; OR, COUNTY OF JACCA. <i>Capital, 1st Huesca.</i>	NAVARRE. <i>Capital, Pampeluna.</i>
1033. — Ferdinand I. obtains from his father the country of Castile, a mountainous district, covered with castles, of which Amaya was the chief place. This country was formed into a kingdom on the marriage of Ferdinand with a sister of the king of Leon. The two kingdoms were united after a battle in which Bermudo III. was conquered and killed by his brother-in-law (1037). With Bermudo ended the line of the old kings of Oviedo, whose States had been enlarged at the expense of the Mussulmen by the conquests of Alphonso the Catholic, of Ramiro, and, above all, of Alphonso the Great. Leon was the capital from 914. Under Ferdinand begin the exploits of the Cid and the power of the kings of Castile.	1036. — Ramiro I. gives some importance to his little kingdom by the annexation of Soprarbe and Ribagorça, which had fallen to a fourth son of Sancho the Great. Ramiro was killed at Graos fighting the Moors of the Ebro. The establishment of the old Cortes of Aragon is attributed to him. 1096.—Pedro Sanchez takes Huesca from the Moors, and makes it his capital.	1035. — Garcia IV. succeeds to the crown of Navarre as eldest son of Sancho. This kingdom, shut up between France and the Christian States of Castile and Aragon, cannot extend like these by conquests over its neighbors. It comprised, besides Navarre Proper, the Cantabrian republics of Biscay, Alava, and Guipuscoa.

*Synchronism.* — The dismemberment of Navarre, which gave rise to the two principal Christian kingdoms of Spain, coincides exactly with the dissolution of the caliphate of Cordova in 1031.

TABULAR VIEW OF THE THREE CALIPHATES.

OMMIAD CALIPHS.	AFRICA.	ABBASSID CALIPHS.
756-788. — Abderame I., founder of the Caliphate of the West.	Africa had recognized the Abbassid caliphs; but the Emirs soon reigned there as sovereigns, and the authority of the Commanders of the Faithful was reduced to a spiritual supremacy, disputed by the dissenting sects, and lost in 938.	750-754. — Aboul-Abbas first Abbassid caliph.
His wars against the partisans of the Abasides consolidate his throne, but cause the loss of Septimania.	788.—Edris-ben-Edris, supposed descendant of Mahomet, founds the dynasty of the Edrissites in the Mahgreb.—Fez becomes his capital in 807.	762.—Foundation of Bagdad, under Abou-Giafar-Al-mansour.
He transplants the sciences and magnificence of the Arabs into Spain.	800.—Ibrahim-ben-Aglab, head of the Aglabite dynasty in Carthaginian and Tripolitan Africa.—Kairouan, capital.	785-784.—Mohammed Mahadi; his generosity and magnificence.
783-832.—Hescham I. and Al-Hakkam I.	827.—Conquest of Sicily and Malta by the Aglabites.	780.—War with the Greek empire. Haroun advances to Caledonia, and subjects the empress here to tribute.
Domestic troubles. Progress of the Christians under Alphonso the Chaste, king of Oviedo.	Sicily becomes the centre of operations of the Mussulman fleets, which land troops of pirates and adventurers on the coasts of Italy and Illyria.	786-809.—Haroun-al-Raschid succeeds his brother Al-Hadi.
822-862. — Abderame II., the Victorious.	868.—Toulun, governor of Egypt, founds an independent dynasty there.	His eight expeditions against the Eastern Romans; defeats of Nicephoras.
He forms an alliance with the emperor Michel the Stammerer against the Caliph of Bagdad.	908.—The Marabout Obeidollah, chief of the Ishmaelites of the West, dethrones the Aglabites and Edressites, in 909 and 941. He is chief of the Fatimites, and first Mahadi. † 944. Capital, Mahadiha.	The Mussulman empire reaches its highest degree of splendor. Magnificence of the court. Brilliant literature. Favor and massacre of the Barmacids.
814.—The Northmen plunder Lisbon, Cadiz, Seville, &c.	944. — The Arab Zeiri founds the city of Algiers (Al Diezair), and makes himself master of the surrounding country, of which the Fatimite caliphs grant him hereditary possession in 972, and where his family reigned till 1148, when Roger took from them the greater part of the coast, and the Almoravids, the city of Algiers. These last, fanatical sectarians of Abdallah-ben-	813-833.—Al-Mamon: his virtues, talents, tolerance. He enlightens his people, and makes them happy.
851.—Victory over Ordogno, king of Leon.		838.—War of Amorium, in Asia Minor, under Motasem.
862.—Mohammed I.—Under his reign Mussulman Spain is torn by intestine divisions and foreign war. Prince Al-Moundhir repulses the Christians, and represses the two revolts of Musa and of the brigand chief Ben-Hafsoun, who had become Emir of Saragossa. The intestine divisions revive under the following reigns.		811.—Introduction of Turkish slaves into the guard of the caliphs. Pretensions and excesses of these troops, who favor the insubordination of several emirs of Turkish origin.
886-912.—Anarchy under Al-Moundhir and Abdallah. Alphonso the Great, king of Leon, extends his dominions at the expense of the Moors. He rebuilds Porto, and raises a banner of conquered towns against the Mussulmen.		Most of Motasem's successors meet a tragic death.
896-912.—Abderame III. the Great.		873. — Takoub-el-Soffar, master of the Seistan, takes the Rhoracan territory from the Taherides, and causes himself to be given the investiture also of Farsistan and Tabaristan. This provincial dynasty prepares the union of the caliphate of Bagdad.
He restores internal peace, and the power and glory of the Caliphate.		

OMMIAD CALIPHES.	AFRICA.	ABBASSID CALIPHES.
912.—Victory of Jonquera over the Christians, who take their revenge at San Estevan.	Justin, make themselves masters of Sedjelmessah towards 1060, and found under their caliph, Youssef-ben-Taschfin, in 1069, the city of Morocco, which becomes the capital of their empire.	869.—The caliphs of Bagdad rule in Armenia. They recognize as superior king the pagraide, Achod I, the Great, who reigned at Kars, and whose family held the throne till 1079. About the same time the Arabs invade the Caucasian districts, and seize Teflis. From that time the kings of Georgia recognize the supremacy of the caliphs.
939.—King Ramiro II., after brilliant successes, loses the bloody battle of Simancas, which leads to a peace in 942.	963-975.—Moex Ledinilah, first caliph.	890.—Origin of the anti-social sect of the Karmats, which ruled some time in Bahrein and Nedjed. It excites civil war, and desolates the provinces for a century.
944.—The rebellion of the Beni-Hassoun is crushed after lasting 80 years.	968.—Conquest of Egypt by his lieutenant, Djewhar, or Giafar, who founds at Fostat the city of Cairo (El Kahira, or the Victorious). Cairo becomes the residence of the new caliphs (969).	902.—The Samanides disposes the Soffarides of Khorassan and the neighboring provinces.
980.—Abderame causes himself to be recognized in Mahgreb, which, more or less contested, was to belong to the caliphs of Cordova till the usurpation of the Zeirites, and even longer. Alliance with Constantine VII.	The power of the Fatimites, soon weakened in Africa, gives rise to the formation of several independent dynasties: that of the Hamadides at Bougie, in 979; of the Badisites at Tripoli and Tunia, &c., &c. But it extends at the same time over Syria, where it finds for auxiliaries the Assassins of Lebanon.	934-940.—Caliphate of Rhadi.
Magnificence of Abderame III.; his monuments; palace of Zehra; public schools and libraries.	980.—Conquest of Syria under the reign of Aziz-Billah.	935.—Mohammed-Ibn-Rayek, 1st Emir al Omrah.
981-979.—Peaceful reign of Al-Hakkam II.	996-1021.—Hakem, grandson of Moex, attempts to establish a new worship, of which he was to be the deity. He persecutes the Christians and destroys their churches.	Independent dynasties rise on all sides, leaving nothing to the caliph but the city of Bagdad, with the spiritual supremacy. The most dangerous for the caliph was that of the Buids, who to the government of Persia added the possession of the great emirat.
975-1009.—Hescham II. Brilliant victories of the <i>Adjeb</i> Mohammed-Almansor over the Christians.	Druzi founds the mystic sect of the Druzes, which still exist in Lebanon. They adore Hakem as a god made man.	997-1028.—Mahmoud the Gaznovide raises a powerful empire in Persia, on the ruins of several provincial dynasties.
986.—Barcelona falls into the hands of the Mussulmen, who lose it again in 988, by the conquest of Borei, count of Urgel.	1096-1094.—Reign of Moctaneer Billah. He aspires to the universal caliphate, and reunites those of Cairo and Bagdad, which were again divided after his death.	He makes himself master of a part of India, where he destroys the famous temple of Suonat, in 1022. He found none but idolaters in this country, who had forgotten the teachings of the first Christian apostles. It was chiefly there that Islamism spread over and beyond the coast of Malabar.
998.—Defeat and death of Almanzor at Medina-Celi. Decline of the caliphate of Spain.	The caliphate of Cairo was prolonged till 1171, when it was abolished by Saladin.	The communication between the Mussulmen and the Hindoos gave rise to the <i>Hindustanee</i> , the modern language of India, which took the place of the Sanscrit. This last became the learned language of the country.
1009.—Mohamed-Almohadi dethrones Hescham II. The caliphate falls a prey to rebels and usurpers.		1028.—Massouh succeeds his father Mahmoud, under the caliphate of the just Kader-Billah.
1031.—Deposition of Hescham III.—last caliph.		
Dissemblerment of the caliphate of Cordova.		
1010.—Kingdom of Murcia.		
1010. " Badajoz.		
1013. " Grenada.		
1014. " Saragossa.		
1015. " Majorca.		
1021. " Valencia.		
1023. " Seville.		
1026. " Toledo.		
1031. " Cordova.		

## SELJUKS.

1038.—The Turcomans revolt against Massouh, and overthrow the dominion of the Gaznavides, under their chief Toghrul-Beg, grandson of Seljuk, who causes himself to be proclaimed Sultan, at Nischabour. He makes himself master of Bagdad, in 1055, and strips the last Buid, Malek-Rahim, of the dignity of Emiral-Omrah.

Alp-Arslan, his successor, makes war upon the Roman emperor Diogenes, and makes himself master of Cappadocia (1071) and Armenia. But with the aid of the Orpelian princes of Georgia, the Armenians reconquer, for a moment, their nationality, of which soon nothing was left them but a vain image in the mountains of the Taurus, where prince Rhoupen founded a new dynasty, in 1080. Alp-Arslan was indebted to his vizir, the wise and learned Nizam-Oul-Mouk, for the prosperity of his reign and the happiness of his people.

1072-1092.—Under the reign of Malek-Schah, the Seljuks complete the conquest of Asia Minor, Syria, and the country beyond the Oxus. But after his death this vast empire was divided, and the sultanates of Kerman, Aleppo (1094), Roum, and Damascus (1095), tributaries of Persia, formed.

The sultanate of Persia was successively occupied by three sons of Malek-Schah, Barkiarok, Mohammed, and Sandschar. This last counted among his vassals the chiefs of the great dynasties of Gour, of Samarcand, Khowarezm, Aderbaidjan, Irak, and Moultan. He encouraged the arts of peace, and left, in the East, a reputation equal to that of Alexander the Great.

## TABULAR VIEW OF THE REMARKABLE PERSONS OF THE CRUSADES.

### FIRST CRUSADE.

#### INVESTIGATORS.

Peter the Hermit, and Pope Urban II.

#### PRINCES.

Philip I., king of France.

Alexis Comnènes, Greek emperor.

#### WARRIORS.

*First Army.*—Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lorraine, is proclaimed king of Palestine, but refuses. He becomes king of Jerusalem.

Eustathius of Bouillon, and Baldwin—brothers of Godfrey.

Baldwin of Bourg—their cousin.

Baldwin, count of Hainault, Hugh of St. Pol, and Gerard of Chery.

*Second Army.*—Hugh, count of Vermandois.

Robert, duke of Normandy.

Stephen of Blois, and Hubert, count of Flanders.

Bohemond, prince of Tarentum, and Tancred his friend, both of Norman origin, join this army at Rome with 30,000 knights.

*Third Army.*—Raymond, count of Toulouse.

Adhemar of Montell, bishop of Puy and papal legate.

Walter, a general, dies with his followers, in attempting to avenge Rinaldo of Brescia, who, with all his followers, had been compelled by the Mussulmen to embrace Mahometanism.

### SECOND CRUSADE.

#### INVESTIGATORS.

St. Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, and Eugene III., pope—his disciple.

#### PRINCES.

Lewis VII., king of France.

Conrad III., emperor of Germany.

Baldwin III., king of Jerusalem.

Manuel Comnènes, Greek emperor.



Raymond of Poitiers, prince of Antioch, uncle of Eleanor, queen of France.  
Roger, king of Sicily. He offers ships to the crusaders, who refuse them, and by a foolish pride, expose themselves a second time to the perfidy of the Greek emperors.

#### WARRIORS.

Thierry of Alsace, count of Flanders.  
Everard of Barres, grand-master of the Templars.  
Nouredin, sultan of Aleppo.

### THIRD CRUSADE.

#### INSTIGATOR.

Urban III.—This pope dies, at Ferrara, of grief, on hearing of the taking of Jerusalem by Saladin.

#### PRINCES.

Philip-Augustus, king of France.  
Richard Cœur-de-Lion, king of England. The rivalry between these two kings arose, in part, from their difference of opinion as to who should reign at Jerusalem. Philip-Augustus sustained the rights of Conrad, son of the marquis of Montferrat and Sybil his widow, who had married Lusignan, whom Richard favored.  
Frederic Barbarossa, emperor of Germany.  
Isaac Angelus, Greek emperor, who betrayed the crusaders, and formed a secret alliance with Saladin.

#### KINGS OF JERUSALEM.

Baldwin IV., sick, abdicates in favor of Guido of Lusignan, husband of his sister Sybil. Lusignan, compelled to abandon the throne, goes to reign at Cyprus, which Richard, who had conquered it, cedes to him.  
Guido of Lusignan.  
Amaury. This successor of Lusignan marries Isabella, widow of Henry, count of Champagne, who had the title of king of Jerusalem.

#### WARRIORS.

Saladin, sultan of Egypt.  
Malek-Adhel, his brother.  
Rinaldo of Chatillon.  
Leopold, duke of Austria.  
Conrad, son of the marquis of Montferrat.  
Joscelin of Courtenay.  
William, Archbishop of Tyre.  
The duke of Suabia.

### FOURTH CRUSADE.

#### INSTIGATORS.

Gregory VII.  
William, archbishop of Tyre.  
Innocent III.—Foulques of Neuilly.—It was Innocent III. that founded the Inquisition, and the mendicant orders of Franciscans and Dominicans.  
Innocent III. loudly blamed the crusaders for having dethroned a Christian emperor instead of going to fight the infidels. He hurled an excommunication, and retracted it. He foresaw that the Latins would not long preserve Constantinople.

#### PRINCES.

Philip Augustus, king of France.  
Alexis Comnenes, son of Isaac Angelus.

#### WARRIORS.

Dandolo, doge of Venice.  
Eudes, duke of Burgundy.

Thibault and Lewis, counts of Blois.  
 Thibault, count of Champagne, commands the army; dies, and is replaced by Boniface, count of Montferrat, who is succeeded by  
 Baldwin, count of Flanders.  
 Baldwin is chosen emperor at Constantinople, in 1204, after the taking of this city by the crusaders. Thus is founded the empire of the Latins, which lasts fifty-seven years.  
 Baldwin II., of the house of Courtenay, is dethroned by Michael Paleologus.

## FIFTH CRUSADE.

## INSTIGATORS.

Innocent III., Honorius III.  
 John of Brienne, titular king of Jerusalem.

## PRINCES.

Andrew II., king of Hungary.  
 John of Brienne.  
 Hugh of Lusignan, king of Cyprus, who dying some time after the retreat of the king of Hungary, left John of Brienne, sole chief of the crusade.

## SIXTH CRUSADE.

## INSTIGATORS.

Gregory IX.  
 Eudes of Chateauroux, cardinal.

## PRINCE.

St. Lewis of France.

## WARRIORS,

Robert, count of Artois, brother of St. Lewis. He is killed at the battle of Mansourah.  
 Alphonso of Provence, brother of St. Lewis.  
 Mule and Salah, sons of Saladin.  
 St. Lewis, taken prisoner: he restores Damietta for his ransom.

## SEVENTH CRUSADE.

## INSTIGATOR.

Urban IV.

## PRINCES.

St. Lewis, dies of the plague at Tunis.  
 Philip the Bold, his son.  
 Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Lewis.

## WARRIORS.

Alphonso of Provence, brother of St. Lewis; he dies at Venice, on his way back to France.  
 Tristan, son of St. Lewis, dies of the plague at Tunis.

## SYNOPTICAL TABLE OF THE INTERNAL

## ADMINISTRATION OF CHARLES V. AND EDWARD III.

## FRANCE.

Charles V. convokes only once the States General, which had been so dangerous under the preceding reign. He devises in their place *Lits de justice*, to which the great officers, some prelates, deputies of the bourgeois, and the University were admitted.

1364.—Revocation of alienated domains. Regulation of appannages.

1367 — 1372. — Prohibition of private wars.

1374. — Edict of Vincennes, renewed from the ordonnance of Carthage (1270), concerning the regency and the guardianship of kings, whose majority is fixed at fourteen years begun.

Naval establishments at Harfleur, Dieppe, Rouen, &c. The royal navy which, since Charlemagne, had fallen into decay, is restored, and begins to protect commerce, which was also efficaciously encouraged by Charles V.

The Norman sailors double Cape Non in the first half of the 14th century; and in 1364, the inhabitants of Dieppe, aided by ship owners from Rouen, found at Sierra Leone the factory of the *Great Sester* (Rio Sester), which flourished for a time.

The reform of the currency restores to commerce the security which it had lost: it gives immovables a surer and less variable value.

Charles V. protects literature and its cultivators: he founds, at the Louvre, the Royal Library.

## ENGLAND.

Edward III. confirms twenty times Magna Charta, which was often violated during his reign.

First admission of the princes of the blood into the House of Lords, and progress of the House of Commons, the meetings of which become annual. Parliament claims the right of judging responsible ministers, and confines within just bounds the accusation of high treason, which had been much abused.

1362.—Law of parliament prohibiting, in public acts, the use of the French language, which was no longer spoken at court, and was falling into neglect in the schools. From this time the distinction between the two nations ceases.

Edward encourages industry, navigation, and particularly the woollen trade, which formed two-thirds of the exportations of the kingdom (294, 184, of the age). But the facilities granted by the *Merchants' Charter* to foreign ships check the progress of the English marine.

Edward attracts Flemish weavers into his kingdom (1331), and grants honorable privileges to movable wealth.

The Hanseatic merchants had from that time, at London, one of their principal factories, called the *Hanse*, or *Guildhall of the Teutons*, as at Bruges, Bergen, and Novgorod.

He protects literature, and particularly the University of Oxford, which his chancellor, Richard Aungerville, enriches with a library.

# REFORMS AND INSTITUTIONS IN FRANCE AND ENGLAND,

DURING THE SECOND PERIOD OF THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR.

## FRANCE.

Under Charles VI. the parliament of Paris becomes permanent, and acquires a part in the legislative power by the gradual introduction of *Registry*, and by the extension given to the *Decrees of Regulation*, which had the force of law throughout the jurisdiction of the judiciary.

1403. — Ordonnance of administrative, judicial, and financial reform, after a revolt of Cabochians, led by Eustathius of Pavilly. Although badly executed, it preserves the germ of salutary improvements, and was a real progress towards centralization.

1421. — Important ordinance on the currency, which is restored to its real value.

1439. — On the remonstrance of the States of Orleans, Charles VII., "wishing to put an end to the great excesses and pillages of the soldiery," institutes companies of gendarmes, by a *perpetual edict*. In 1443, he organized the bands of Frank Archers, who, with the Gens d'Armes, formed a standing army of 18,000 men, independent of the Scotch guard established in 1421.

The three orders, in demanding the establishment of a regular public force, had consented by implication to the levying of a *perpetual tax*, which the king levied by his own authority, and in spite of the remonstrances of the States. The edict of 1441 says: "There is no need of assembling the three States to levy the aforesaid taxes." However it does not deny their right of voting aids and other taxes.

These two establishments raise France from anarchy, and prepare the ruin of feudality; but they give a blow to public rights, and check the progress of the national institutions.

1443. — Creation of the parliament of Toulouse, which forms an integral part of that of Paris, with the same honors and rights.

The offices begin to be held for life, and the courts of justice acquire thereby a salutary independence (ed. of 1446).

1464. — Edict of Montils-les-Tours concerning the *act of justice*. This precious monument of civil legislation, forms a complete code of procedure remarkable

## ENGLAND.

Under Richard II., the parliament is by turns seditious and servile.

Under Henry IV., this body acquires greater consistency, and exercises a greater influence in the government. The concurrence of the two chambers becomes necessary in important affairs, and the initiative of financial bills belongs to the Commons (1406).

1406. — The right of petition and remonstrance enters into the elements of the constitution.

1407. — Statute of Henry IV., giving great extension to the right of suffrage.

1430. — Statute of Henry VI., which restricts the right of suffrage to freeholders having 40 shillings income.

The House of Commons was composed of two deputies for each county, each city of the royal domain, and each *borough* incorporated by charter or by prescription.

In England, as in France, the judiciary becomes independent of the crown.

While the church of France was making every effort to put an end to the schism, the English clergy was thinking only of extirpating heresy. The doctrines of Wickliffe, condemned in 1380 by a national synod, and subsequently by the council of Constance, had still many partisans in the House of Commons. But Henry IV., who was anxious to gain over the ecclesiastical peers, numerous and powerful, had a law passed condemning

## FRANCE.

for its wisdom. Article 125 prescribes the collection and digesting the Customs of the kingdom.

1455.—The States of Languedoc grant subsidies, and obtain the reform of divers abuses.

1438.—Pragmatic sanction of Bourges, which, in conformity with the decrees of the council of Basle, re-establishes canonical elections, and abolishes annates, reserves, expectatives, and other exactions.

Reform of the University by Cardinal Estouteville. It counted 25,000 students.

Agriculture and commerce begin to flourish again. Already under Charles VI. John of Bethencourt of Dieppe had discovered the Canaries, and opened the way for the voyages of the Portuguese (*First Grants of Africa*, in 1450); James Coeur keeps up intercourse with all parts of the world, and assists the State in her need. "Thanks to him," says a contemporary, "there was no mast in the Eastern sea without the fleur-de-lis." But the jealousy of the great procured his condemnation as speculator in 1453.

## ENGLAND.

heretics to the stake (1400). William Sauter and Old Castel were the first victims. In Scotland, the reformation of Wickliffe was suppressed by the same means.

The English marine is developed by the codfish and herring fishery, an immense source of wealth, and inexhaustible means of nourishment for the poorer classes in England, and, above all, in Holland, where a sailor, named Bucolz, had just invented the art of barrelling herrings.

Commerce, encouraged by Edward III., languished during the wars with France. The *Navigation Acts* of 1381 and 1390, which confined the exportation of English goods to English bottoms, did not produce the results which were expected from it. The war of the *Roses* was still to retard for a long while the development of maritime commerce.

THE END.





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